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CHILDHOOD

BEGINNINGS

AT THE first signs of pregnancy a woman takes immediate steps to insure the safe delivery and good health of the developing child. To prevent injury to the fetus, she refrains from sexual intercourse as soon as the menses stop. 843

The food restrictions she observes are not onerous. She eats sparingly of fat meat lest the child become too large and delivery be difficult. She avoids eating animal intestines, a food associated with stillbirths in which the child is strangled by the umbilical cord. Piñon nuts are shunned also, for they cause the child to "have fat all over," thus prolonging delivery. [845]

An important restriction is the injunction against riding a horse; "the shaking is not good for a pregnant woman." This rule became extended in later days to include riding in wagons. The woman also avoids ceremonies where masked dancers appear, for the sight of the hooded figures "hurts both mother and child. The child might not come out and might kill the woman." Some prospective fathers are just as careful about this, because the impersonator has "a hood over his head and the child may be born with a caul over its face." Others hold that the rule concerns the mother only and that the father can look at the masked dancers and can even act as a masked dancer, providing all signs of this role are entirely erased before he returns home. [492] 843 845 535

The pregnant woman refrains from excessive walking, from lifting heavy burdens, and from sitting up for long periods. She is urged to take sufficient rest. The consideration with which she is treated reflects the great love of children that characterizes the society. "A woman about to become a mother is treated extra nice, just like a child." Yet the performance of ordinary household tasks is considered beneficial to her throughout this period, and laziness and self-pity are ridiculed. "They say that when you sit on the child after the fifth month it will be harder 843 [855]

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as frequently as the others. In the two bands which favor the high moccasin, the possession of a pair of this type is a point of prestige: "The moccasin is worn high when you are able to have this kind. All people of influence had them this way." The seam line at the foot, especially on "dress" moccasins, is often painted red, the upturned portion of the toe may be variously painted, too, and sometimes the folded portion of the upper or the entire moccasin is colored with yellow ocher.

When the man is out hunting, raiding, or fighting, he wears a belt of buckskin or rawhide to which a knife sheath is attached, but in times of peace he seldom takes the trouble to don this when he is around camp.

After the spring ceremony the hair is allowed to grow. "We all wear long hair. A person doesn't dare cut his hair off with a knife. He has to take good care of his hair. To cut it brings bad luck. The only time you do that is when a member of your family has died." A man leaves his hair unbraided. He pushes it to the sides, out of his eyes and over his shoulders, and it is held in place by a band which crosses his forehead.

Yucca root, pounded, is used for shampooing the hair. "After washing the hair, they use fat on it to make it stick together. Also marrow from the shinbone of a deer is used for this purpose."

The faces of the men are smooth; all facial hair is plucked with the fingernails as soon as it is noticed, because "the Chiricahua don't like whiskers." There are exceptions, of course. "There is one man who has let his beard grow for good luck. He told me that when he was young he had a dream that he would have good luck if he let his beard grow. He is over sixty years old now and still has a moustache."

At times of dance and celebration a mixture of grease and red ocher is rubbed on the cheeks, and there are other face paints. "Paint is used for decoration when there is any gathering or dance. It can be put on at any time. Sometimes a person puts circles on each cheek; sometimes some other markings. A few put a streak of sticky mescal juice on each side of the face."

In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of

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at points advantageous for defense or economy, and the people who live in one vicinity are known by a name referring to the natural feature which marks the area. Often the members of the extended families concerned are, or become, loosely affiliated through intermarriage, but the bonds between them need not be more than those stemming from proximity of residence and the common local name. These extended families which recognize some natural feature as their home or base and share a common name which attests to this can be referred to collectively as a local group. The extended families of a local group may be separated from each other by some distance. A ridge or a mountain spur may intervene, or one camp cluster may be on one side of the mountain which acts as their common locus while a second extended family inhabits the other side. Nevertheless, all are within relatively easy reach of one another and can be quickly contacted for social, military, or religious events. Normally, the contacts afforded by the three segments which have been outlined—the elementary family, the extended family, and the local group—monopolize the experiences of the first years of the child.

EARLY TRAINING AND DISCIPLINE

The rearing and training of children are among the most serious of adult preoccupations. Supernatural help is sometimes sought for these purposes. Though the guidance received from his relatives is criticized if a child grows up to be worthless, he is not exempt from effort of his own. In the training process the child's co-operation is necessary, and an interest in the fundamentals of the folkways is deemed an essential step to informed adulthood.

The child grows into the meanings of his culture gradually and not without amusing misinterpretations. One informant recalled his first sight of the masked dancers. Noting that they wore kilts, he asked a man who stood near by if they were women and was abashed to receive a negative answer. No other explanation was offered, and he was too shy to inquire further. It was some time before he began to understand the character of these dance groups.

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a big meal. Generally, she would serve the visitor first, even if the visitor was a woman. After the visitors had gone, the man might get after his wife and ask her, "Why should you feed those people first? Why didn't you feed me first?"

If a visitor happens to hear of this, he will say, "I'm sorry I went over there. I didn't know that man was like that. I won't go over there any more."

The child must early be made sensible of certain dangers and must learn to be quiet at a command. Enemies often lurk perilously near, and the encampments may suffer severe loss before help can be summoned. Often a child's first memories have to do with threats concerning a dread and shadowy being who preys upon noisy or disobedient children. "The word *gode* is enough. They don't try to describe him. The children become afraid of the word."

Another sound which the child learns to respect is the call of the poorwill. This bird is known by the same name as the masked dancers, for it is thought that the call of the poorwill resembles the traditional call of the dancer as he approaches and "worships" the fire.

When I was a boy, there was a bird that sang only at night. We were told that its song was the voice of the clown of the masked dancers who took bad children. We were pretty quiet and well behaved when we heard that song at night. I realize now that the song is pretty, but when I was a child it frightened me and I disliked it.

This masked-dancer clown, or Gray One, is one of the terrors of childhood. "The clown is going to put you in a basket and carry you off somewhere. Say this to a little child and he is going to mind right away."

The threat of the clown is maintained as long as possible to keep the children out of the way of prowling enemies and predatory animals. When warnings of the clown's arrival lose their efficacy, Gray One himself may "appear."

Suppose now that children are playing out there and won't mind at all. All right! The parents will say, "Let's scare those children."

They go way around through the woods somewhere. Maybe a big fat man goes out there with them, and they put white paint on him. They make him look like the clown. Well, he goes over to the other side of the place where those children are playing in the brush. He takes a little switch or a stick along with him. Then, when he is about twenty yeards away, he shows his face, and one of

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861 the boys or girls sees it and starts to run. Then the rest look and see the clown
535 coming. The children cry and run back to camp. And the clown will be running
865 after them, trying to hit them with the stick, throwing stones after them, but being careful not to hit them. I'll tell you, those children will not go far from camp any more!

Clowns accompany the masked dancers at the girl's puberty rite, and parents of disobedient children, taking advantage of the fears already engendered, arrange to have Gray One "get after" their youngsters at this time.

861 The child is silenced, too, by dark forces, as fearful to adults as
825 to him:

From the earliest time I can remember I was afraid of the owl. It was not until much later that I knew why—that I knew the owl can cause evil influence to a person. When I was bad, my mother would make me listen to the hooting of the owl. "Listen to that!" she would say, and I would settle down and be quiet. She told me it was a bad animal and would catch me if I were bad.

The clue to the abhorrence for owls emerges in another account:

[775] It was taught to me in camp when I was small that ghosts and owls are related in some way. At night you go out in the woods over there by yourself. If you are a full-blood Chiricahua, you have been taught ever since you were a small child, "Don't ever throw anything at an owl. Never mock an owl. They are dangerous. They are ghosts." If you are out in the woods on a dark night after you have been taught in this way what owls are and you hear them close to you,
[753] you certainly are frightened. In those days they claimed Indians used to get very sick from owls, and some shamans had to work to get them well.

861 Other devices for subduing unruly children are used:
865 There was an old man whom I did not like. He used to chase me and catch me whenever he saw me. So, when I was bad, my mother used to say that this old man was coming for me or that she was going to give me away to him.

Sometimes the old man comes to see the recalcitrant child at the parents' request:

When a child is mischievous, they call an old man who looks fierce. He is no relative. The old man limps in with a sack or blanket in his hand. He acts angry and shouts, "What's the matter?"

The father and the mother sit there. They say, "This boy won't obey. He is always fighting. You can take him and do what you wish with him. You can cut off his head or sit on him. We don't care. We aren't going to put up with him any longer." The boy begins to cry.

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taken by the raconteur to point the moral. Such instruction is not always taken in good spirits. "My father told me many stories, but sometimes I got very sleepy. Sometimes I got contrary and wanted to go to bed," an informant admitted. Usually, however, the children look forward to these evenings and often beg a grandparent to arrange one.

The most important story a child hears at this time is that of the birth of the culture hero and his victorious encounters with the monsters. Familiarity with this account is a necessary background for much ritual. Parts of the story are dramatized in the girl's puberty rite. Ceremonial songs and many ritual touches refer to the protagonists of this legend. Grama grass, for example, appears in ceremonial contexts because Child of the Water used it for an arrow in his encounter with Giant, one of the monsters. Other stories of the culture hero and his mother further acquaint the child with their holiness and the great respect he owes them.

Scarcely less important is the set of stories devoted to the Mountain People, supernaturals inhabiting the interiors of sacred mountains. These Mountain People, who are impersonated by the masked dancers, are described in the legends as potential sources of supernatural power and as protectors of the tribal territory.

Most appreciated by the young people, however, is the Coyote cycle, a series of episodes of the pranks of the trickster. Coyote violates all the social and sexual conventions of the society, and this permits the narrator to contrast "Coyote's way" with more approved conduct. Coyote stories "make a child sleepy," and so it is often necessary to tickle his nose or tap him lightly on the head in order to keep him awake. Through the Coyote tales the child gets some hint of the imperfectibility of man and of the inevitability of moral turpitude in the world: "Coyote stories are used as a lesson. And they still blame Coyote today for the foolish things humans do."

Other tales serve to imbue the child with the proper attitudes toward baneful or helpful animal life, toward supernaturals, and toward neighboring peoples.

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His first attendance at the girl's puberty rite is likely to be an unforgettable occasion. He is brought forward that his face may be painted with pollen by the girl. To insure his health and growth, she may pick him up and hold him to the directions, and, if he is small for his age, she may be asked to place her hands under his chin at the neck and lift him.

So that a child may grow tall he is lifted four times to the new moon. He is warned never to urinate in an anthill, lest he have bladder stones. That he may not become lonesome in the absence of a departing relative, the traveler wets his finger with saliva and touches it to the child's face. If, nevertheless, he does get lonesome, a basket is placed four times over his head. When their father is on the raid, the children are urged not to throw the wood for the fire around carelessly, lest their parent become confused about the direction to take. When a child loses a tooth, he is counseled to say, "I hope I have another tooth," and to throw it to the east or to tie grama grass around it and throw it to the sun; that witches may not retrieve it and do him harm, he is told to dispose of it at some remote spot. The child is also advised not to watch masked dancers being decorated and never to call the name of an impersonator whom he may recognize. To safeguard him against sickness, a fringed buckskin amulet containing a growth from the creosote bush may be strung around his neck. Such practices, solemnly advised by his elders, impress the child with the efficacy of magical aids and with the proximity and power of the forces against which they are pitted.

During this early period, too, the child learns of the evil animals and the natural agencies toward which he must exercise special care. "Drop that feather!" someone may call as he stoops to pick up a buzzard feather. Or the nature of a disease resulting from contact with Snake is explained by one who has ceremonial power from it and knows its ways. A person with such knowledge often takes measures that protect the children of the vicinity:

In the summer when the snakes came back and the parents were afraid that the children would be bitten, this woman used to call many children together and sing for them, and she would put a cross of pollen inside each moccasin for them. She told them not to call Snake too much or it would come and not to look for it

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AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

825 48 857 [481] A practical purpose is credited to another activity:

We used to chase birds and butterflies. We would let the butterflies go after catching them. Both boys and girls did it. The old people said it would make us fast runners. In wet weather we could catch big birds. Their wings get wet in the rain and they can't go fast.

An unusual type of recreation involves the bat:

The boys used to build a fire at night. When the bats came by, they would throw their moccasins at them. They would get them in the moccasins and kill them. That's how the Indian boys used to play at night.

857 • 535 86 424 The children imitate many of the social and ceremonial practices of their elders:

During this time Old Man J., a lively old man, used to come out and sing for us while we danced the masked-dancer dance in the evening. The old people would be there and watch. We didn't dress up. The old people didn't allow us to dress up, for it was said to bring evil influence. The songs which were sung were N.'s songs. J. would ask him if it would be all right to sing these songs, and N. would tell him to go ahead.

Actually the boys learn much more than the steps and songs of the masked dancers on these occasions. For instance, the exchange between the two old men must have impressed upon them that ceremonial songs are personally owned and that permission must be obtained from the owner before using them. When the children are playing masked dancer away from the camps, they sometimes violate the rule about wearing costumes and make headdresses to wear and wands to carry.

857 [535] Social dances are of increasing interest to the children as they grow older. "We used to dance the circle dance too, just the boys. Sometimes the old men would join in and sing for us. They certainly had a good time watching us."

857 868 [824] The children organize elaborate and dramatic imitations of adult occupations. They hunt, with tall grass as the woods and playmates for the game animals. They go scouting and defend themselves against enemy attacks, using spears made from sunflower and lupine stalks.

857 867 868 Boys and girls play house in a realistic manner. They build small homes modeled after the regular residences (often making them large enough to enter), play man and wife, entertain visitors to whom they extend the amenities, and arrange feasts with provisions concocted from sticks and mud:

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The girl feels good toward the man who sings for her too. She gives him presents now and then. She has to give the man a horse and saddle at the end of the ceremony. Usually he gets a good buckskin and blankets too. The father of one of the girls who recently went through her ceremony had only one good horse, but he had to give it to the singer. It's that gray one that B. [the singer] rides now. He had to do it according to the Indian way. 881 793 533 [431]

For the girl, her relatives, and a few serious-minded individuals the ceremonial aspects of the occasion will be of most significance. But for most of the guests the feasting, the social dancing, and the performance of the masked dancers will be the greatest attractions. 881 [574]

The masked dancers are men dressed and decorated to represent mountain-dwelling supernaturals. The dancers themselves possess no power and no ceremony. But the one who "makes" them, who fashions the masks they wear and paints or directs the painting of their bodies, is a shaman who controls a most important ceremony. The primary purpose of the masked-dancer rite when it is not associated with the celebration for the adolescent girl is to ward off epidemic and evil or to cure illness that has been contracted. When it is so used, its performance is a most serious matter. However, these same masked dancers have become one of the standard sources of entertainment of the girl's puberty rite. Early each evening they appear, and, while they may bless the camp initially, drive away evil, or even perform some cures privately on request, their main function is to engage in several spectacular dances for the noisy approval of the onlookers. 881 [535] [776] [532] [756] [751] [755] [789] [789] [755]

The girl's relatives must secure the co-operation of a masked-dancer shaman: 881 756 535 574

A month or more before the ceremony the ones who are giving the feast start thinking about the man they are going to get to paint the masked dancers. They say, "Let's ask the old man."

One of them goes to the old man and says, "I'm giving a feast and want you to work for us. I don't want you to refuse." If the old man promises, it is all settled. The relatives of the girl will begin talking to him, perhaps it will be her uncles or aunts.

I've seen it done this way, too. Suppose there are a lot of camps together. A man whose girl is going to have her ceremony would come out and say, "All you people, listen! I'm going to give a feast for all you people. I need your help. I want all you men who know the ceremony of the masked dancers and you men

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881 who know songs to help. I'm paying for your good time. I'm having plenty to
756 eat for all of you. I'm a poor man, but still I'm doing this. Let's all help and
have a good time."

535 Then anyone who knew the ceremony of the masked dancers and felt like it
574 could paint dancers for him. Afterward he might ask more definitely to be sure he'd have somebody. He would go to a man and say, "You know the ceremony of the masked dancers; you help me this time."

If no one comes up to my father to ask him to do it, he won't do it. I have seen him just let it go. He can see more at the feast grounds, have his meals like anyone else, and have a better time than he can spending his time at his camp painting dancers. I think that many times it looks as though the old man doesn't want to do it. But these feast-makers ask in such a way that he can't refuse. Sometimes he goes away, and when he comes back there is someone waiting for him, begging him to help.

When they asked him to do it, my father used to complain. He said, "Those people ask me to paint masked dancers. But they don't help me out with the equipment. They don't know how much work it is doing this for four days. It's tiring. They don't help as they should." Then the people who were giving the feast had to scurry around and get equipment if my father was short of things. They sometimes had to ask other people for buckskin and things that were needed.

There was S. He said to my father, "I want you to help me out; paint those masked dancers for me." His girl was going to be White-Painted Woman [that is, was going to have the puberty rite performed for her]. Then my father said, "All right, but you must do your part. You must feed my dancers. It is hard work. You must feed them in the morning, at noon, and at night." S. said he would do it.

So my father went out. He tried to get the right men to dance for him. He came to me. I didn't want to do it. He asked another man, a good dancer, and he said "No" this time. Then the feast people had to help out. My father went back to them and said, "I'm willing to help, but I can't get enough good dancers." He referred the whole thing back to them.

Then they came to me and pleaded with me. "We'll give you a whole side of the ribs and your wife can get all the food she wants down at the place where we are cooking for the crowd." And they offered me something else valuable, too.

Some of them come up in a pitiful way and say, "I'm a poor fellow. This feast is for everybody. You can dance better than anyone else." So you have to sympathize with them sometimes. If they just have to have you and it looks as though you are not going to do it, they call you "brother" even though you're no relation to them. They say, "Don't refuse!"

The relatives have been watching those painters of masked dancers. They notice who makes good designs and turns out the best dancers. The dancing is just to make the celebration lively though. The masked dancers do not affect the health of the girl by their dancing.

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MATURATION

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During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family have brought baskets of fruit and nuts to the rear of the hide upon which she has stood. They throw these presents upon the hide, and a scramble ensues. Thus the cycle which began when the pollen footprints were drawn has been completed symbolically; the fruits have followed the pollen and the season of growth. In the good-natured din and confusion the girl and her attendant retire. The girl has custody of the singer's rattle until evening. It is noon before this opening ritual is concluded, and more food is now distributed.

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The afternoon is devoted to social activities—dancing in the open space to the east of the ceremonial structure, singing, racing, and visiting. Men gather at the hoop-and-pole ground, while the women play the stave game. The girl's parents move about among their guests, and grateful visitors seek them out to comment upon their hospitality and "to say they are thankful that this daughter has grown up to have the ceremony." "The feast-givers are shown respect, and all obey them. Nobody ever breaks this rule."

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Ordinarily, the girl's ritual obligations are over until evening, but she may be requested to treat the very young during the day:

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The Chiricahua believe that it is good luck for a child or a baby if a girl who is White Painted Woman lifts it up. At any time during the ceremony the girl can take a very young child, pick it up under the arms, and hold it to the directions. This is done to give the child long life and good luck.

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She also helps the infirm:

If your arm is crooked, go to the girl at the time of the ceremony. She can work it and make it straight. She picks up children by the neck too. It is good for them. They tell me to let one of the girls work on me. [This man has a crippled arm.] I go there, but there are lots of people in there, and I back out every time.

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In the late afternoon of the first day the adolescent girl or the singer, using a fire drill, lights a fire in the ceremonial structure. This fire is to be kept alive during the course of the ritual or, at least, during the nights. Sometime in the afternoon a great pile of firewood is stacked to the north side of the ceremonial structure. This will be used for the fire around which the masked dancers will perform.

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[facing P. 100]

PLATE V

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Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

A MASKED DANCER

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881 *The masked dancers.*—As the sun starts to go down, the paint-
• 535 ing and the dressing of the masked dancers begin. The men who have agreed to dance make their way to a brush shelter erected quite a distance from the ceremonial grounds, for it would be dangerous to the people, and especially to the women and chil-
[976] dren, to have them "made" in the vicinity of the camps. Since the dancers are impersonating mountain-dwelling supernaturals, a place in the foothills surrounding the level dance ground is most likely to be chosen. There the masked-dancer shaman waits
[954] with dancing costumes and paints. The shaman rarely paints
[534] the dancers but directs his helpers and prays and sings, accom-
[531] panying himself with a buckskin-covered pottery drum. Upon
[789] this he draws figures, such as that of the sun, in pollen "to keep
[826] his voice from becoming hoarse."

The shaman may have some difficulty in assembling a dance
535 group, for the supernatural impersonator must obey irksome restrictions:

> You shouldn't wash the paint off. It sweats off while you are dancing and when you put your shirt on. It is just clay and charcoal. Perhaps the second night there will be just a faint mark left from the paint of the night before. When the next paint goes on fresh, you can't tell that there was any paint on
> [821] there before. If you do have to get some off, you rub it but do not wash it off, for if you wash, it will cause a big rain to come.

535 Mistakes during the dance are most dangerous:
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753 Not many men want to dance; it can cause evil influence. They fear to get into this costume just as they fear a coyote. If the dancer makes a mistake and doesn't do things according to the ceremony, he will get sick. It is dangerous for one dancer to touch another who has been made by a different shaman. The power of one masked-dancer maker may be stronger than that of the other and cause some disaster to a dancer. It sometimes causes a spasm [paralysis] in the
[955] mouth, or trouble with the ear or eye, or a swollen face. Then the only way is to go through a ceremony and have the masked dancers blow the sickness away.

The dancer must be quite as particular about other points. If he should place the mask over his head without the proper ritual gestures, he is likely to go mad. He must show proper reverence as well:

> One time I was dancing for D. Three of us were dancing—S., T., and I. It was S.'s first time. He was speaking in English, cursing while they were painting him. You know he is just like a mocking bird; he doesn't respect anything.

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The old man said, "Look here, that kind of talk doesn't go here! You men should be praying in your hearts. Pray for all the good things. Be saying, 'Let me be a reliable masked dancer. Let me be reliable in life.' That's what you should be doing while you are in this brush hut."

Just as soon as the old man stopped talking, there S. was again, cursing. Well, we went out, the three of us. We came toward the fire. The last minute S. was putting on the mask. He couldn't get it on. He said, "I can't get this damn thing on! How does this damn thing work?" I told him, talking softly, "Don't talk that way." You can't talk in a loud voice when you are in the mask. "Have some manners!"

The old man heard and said, "Hey, what are you doing? Now if anything happens to you, you'll say you are witched, but I warned you." S. said, "Oh, I always forget."

We went out to the fire. The first time we approached the fire, S. bumped into me. I heard him laughing. Every time we went around and started toward the fire he bumped into me. I said softly, "Keep your distance and be careful." I was leader. He was right behind me.

All of a sudden I noticed S. was putting his hands to his head. He just took his sticks and pressed them to his head. Then I saw him break out of line and run away from the fire. He ran right to his camp, pulling off his mask. His camp was just a little way from the grounds. They found him there crying and yelling and rolling around.

Pretty soon they sent a message to D. "That man who danced for you is pretty sick," they told him. The next time we came out from the fire, D. came to us. "We'll have to go right over and see that boy," he said. So we went over. S. was just like out of his head. He was rolling around, trying to stand on his head. They couldn't hold him down.

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D. told me to work on him, because I was the leader. T. came behind me in the dancing, but I was the only one that touched S. The old man was singing his songs and praying while I was working on S. First I came toward him from the east. The fourth time I crossed my sticks over his head. Then I grabbed his head in both hands and shook it, shook it hard. You can't be gentle with them. Besides I was angry at missing the dancing over there at the grounds all because of his foolish talk. He yelled, but I pulled him around good. I did this from the south, west, and north too. Each time I shook him we made the masked-dancer call, and then I blew his sickness away to the four directions, beginning with the east.

After I finished, D. said to him, "Now you're all right; nothing is the matter with you. Get up, no matter how you feel, and follow these men." So S. followed us, and we went around once and then went toward the east.

"All right," said D., "you fellows go back and dance. He will be better now. He will be over there at the feast pretty soon."

So we went back. While we were dancing I watched for S. I looked around every once in a while to see if he was there. Pretty soon I saw him there, laughing and clapping his hands, having a good time. It was just about an hour after we

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had worked on him. I don't know what made that fellow well. I didn't do it. I just followed D.'s directions. It wasn't I but it was D.'s power that did it. The old man knew what was wrong with S. and how to cure him.

As this story indicates, whenever the dancer gets into difficulty because of his participation, it is to the masked-dancer maker that he must turn. Said one of these shamans, "If a dancer who is working for me gets a pain in his foot, I put a feather on his foot, and it goes away."

The dancer must observe suitable modesty and remember that he is but an instrument of the rite and not its owner:

One man got into trouble from this. He danced three or four times. Then he made his own outfit and carried it on, though he had no right to the ceremony. Soon his baby got sick, and no one could cure her. When she died she made the masked-dancer cry and held her hands outward.

When I asked a man who had acted as a masked dancer to sketch the designs which had been put upon him, he replied that he was not sure he could do this. Later he refused entirely, saying, "I asked T. if I could draw his masked dancers, and he said, 'You'd better leave those Mountain Spirits alone,' so I can't do it."

The subordinate role of the masked dancer is emphasized in another statement:

If I learned that song without getting the whole ceremony, without having the whole thing turned over to me, if I didn't get it in a spiritual way, it wouldn't do me good. If I painted a man, I might do it in this same way, but it would just make both of us sick. I can pound on the hide and sing the refrain with the chorus, but I shouldn't sing the words of the prayer in the [masked-dancer] song if it isn't mine. The dancer is just in there working for the one who knows the ceremony. I can't tell, just because I danced for him, whether R.'s masked-dancer ceremony is good. He has a good outfit all right.

A man must have natural aptitude to become a successful dancer:

According to my understanding about being a masked dancer, it comes like anything else. After you do it once the feeling for it comes to you if you are the right kind for it. I did exactly as I was told, and right from the first time I was almost as good as the best dancer. I ran around that fire all night long. Right from the beginning I was getting better every night. And I was dancing with old-timers. People hardly knew the difference between me and those other dancers.

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On the other hand, you take N. over there. He's a well-formed man and should be a good dancer, but he has no natural inclination to be a masked dancer. You have to be in special physical condition to do this dance, like in prize-fighting. 535 •

Despite the dangers there are many factors which induce men to become masked dancers and insure their continued enthusiasm for the art:

If you have never taken the part of the masked dancer, the first time you put on the mask you feel awkward. I must have been twenty-five years old the first time. They were going to have my brother dance. They were starting to mark him with paint. I was riding a horse and came up to them. Someone said, "Here's a better one; he's older." My brother put on his clothes. I didn't want to dance, but they begged me to, so I did. My father was painting four. He is supposed to make four. Sometimes he only gets two or three men; but he won't do it with one.

My father said, "My son, I want to tell you some things before you start, for this is your first time. Putting this mask on and getting everything on tight is going to feel awkward. When you are led out to the fire by the leader, there is going to be a big crowd of people, but they don't know who you are. Don't be bashful. This is your first time, and the way you dance now is going to influence all the dancing you ever do. If you act bashful when you start to dance, that habit is going to stay with you. If the other dancers are lively and are trotting around there like wild steers and you drag and aren't lively, you'll always dance like that. The leader is the one who is the best dancer. Watch your leader, Y. Watch how he holds his hand up and do as he does. Don't watch the last man." And my father said, "You must dance four nights the first time you are in this work." 535 868

Y. talked to me before we went out. He said, "Take short steps. Don't spread your legs. Don't have your head down. Look at your sticks. Keep the horns of your headdress in line."

When you get over there and start to dance, you must be singing for yourself, humming a little. Y. told me to do it, to learn this way. You don't have to do it later when you know how. I asked my father if this was the way to learn to be a good dancer, and he said "Yes." No one can hear you in all that noise. I learned many songs this way.

I danced for my father for several years, for T., for D., and for M. All these people do it about the same but have different designs. They do the way my father does. They sit there singing and praying while the dancers are painted. 535

They pay the very best dancers. They might send for a dancer who was thirty miles away. Then they would have to pay him. I was sometimes paid. 535 465

Sometimes I'd want to dance all right, but I would hesitate a little so that they'd pay me. I'd say, "Oh, it's too much work, too hard." P. paid me when his daughter went through the girl's ceremony. I said I didn't want to do it.

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535 They came for me several times. Finally P. came. He said, "My friend, I want
465 you to do it. Dance, and the first time the masked dancers come to the fire, I'm going to show you what I will give you." So we were coming to the fire. I was the leading dancer. P. came to us. He put up his hand and gave me a big present.

535 The virtuoso among dancers is sometimes particular and demanding concerning the conditions under which he will lend his services:

When I was a leading dancer, I wanted a long stick so that I wouldn't have to bend to place it on the ground. That's the teaching I got from my father and from the leading dancer. When I wanted to make it short, I'd grab it in the middle. So if they gave me a short stick, I'd throw it to another dancer, and they'd make a long one for me. Each dancer always carries two sticks.

I always wanted a new mask. During the winter I might notice that another
532 had used, in a curing ceremony, the mask I usually wore. Then in the spring or summer they would want me to dance. I would say, "I want a new mask. I'm not going to have someone else in my mask. They sweat in there, and it's dangerous and gives diseases."

535 The experienced dancer takes delight in mastery over the
532 minute details of his calling:

Then my father would make me a new mask. He would put the buckskin over my head. "Where are your eyes?" he would ask. I would tell him to make the holes, not at my eyes, but over my eyebrows. He would mark it and make the holes there. Y. told me it should be done this way because the buckskin stretches. Then, when the buckskin is pulled down, it will be just right.

"How do you know the holes should be high?" my father asked. "You told me to follow Y. and that's what he told me."

"That's good," said the old man. "Some dancers tell me to put the holes just at their eyes. Then they go digging at the holes with their sticks, trying to make them bigger, when they are going around the fire."

535 Within his own sphere the masked dancer is relatively independent:

Sometimes there are sixteen masked dancers at the feast grounds. The best men don't want to dance out there where it's crowded. They can't dance well then. You can come in and dance and go out about four times and then you can stop if you want to. You don't have to ask the shaman; you just go over to the place where you were painted and leave the equipment there. Sometimes the old man will ask when he sees you the next day, "Why did you stop so soon last night?" You just make some excuse. When you quit, you come back and watch the dances.

When you're out there in the woods resting between dances, the people call for the dancers. You don't have to pay any attention. You come back when you

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want to. While you are out there, you can take up the mask and smoke cigarettes. It's all right. You are just entertaining the people. You don't have to keep away from women during the four nights of the dancing either. 535 [834]

There is great rivalry for the leadership of the masked-dancer groups: 535 578

I was dancing for T. once. E. was going to lead. I was going to be second in line. While we were being painted, E. said, "Watch me. I'm the leader, and the leader is supposed to be the best dancer." I just laughed.

They finished painting us, and T. said, "All right, go ahead." It was dusk by this time. We were late, for the fellows had been late in getting there. We could see the big fire over at the feast grounds. So E. started off. His mask was down over his face. He must have been blinded by the fire, for before you know it he went off the bank and into an arroyo! You could hear him go down, and then he was down there grunting. I had thought he was going wrong. I had the front of my mask pulled up. I knew how to wear it and could pull it up and still have it stay on.

I just laughed and laughed when he went down. I said, "Hey, leader, I can't follow you there." T. went down and got him. He was skinned and the horns of his headdress were broken. T. said, "You fellows go on and dance," and so we went on.

The next day I saw him standing there holding one arm. The news got around, and the people were laughing and calling, "A masked dancer fell in the arroyo! A masked dancer fell in the arroyo!" [522]

Accomplished dancers, in spite of the strenuous nature of the task, are reluctant to withdraw even when they grow old. "E. still dances. They have to pull his skin smooth to put the paint on. It is the same with H.; they have to stretch his skin. But they don't want to give it up." 535 [887]

If a dancer wishes to become a ceremonialist of this rite, his experience as an impersonator "makes it easier for him to learn." One prominent masked-dancer shaman, describing how readily he had mastered the details of his calling, said: "I learned so fast because I had been a dancer right along." [756]

While the masked dancers just described are being painted, another type of impersonator, the clown ("Gray One," "Long Nose," or "White Painted"), is being prepared also: 535 522 [776]

He wears a mask of scraped rawhide. Sometimes they make it with a big nose or big ears. He wears only moccasins and a gee string. The rest of his body is bare and covered with white paint. They say that it is good to be a clown before you dance as a masked dancer. Then you get used to the dances.

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535 522 When the masked dancers are out there just for the good time of the people, it isn't necessary to have a clown with each set of dancers. Sometimes the shaman doesn't even paint a clown. He doesn't worry about it. If someone wants to be one, all right; but he doesn't ask anyone to do it. If someone wants to, he says, "All right, get your own equipment then." The clown is not counted in the set. [755] A man may paint four others and a clown. But when they are dancing to cure sickness, the clown is supposed to be the most important dancer. The old man told me that the clown has more power than any other masked dancer.

The clown won't talk to the people when he's dancing at the time of the puberty rite. He only motions. He's just there to make fun. The people give him directions, and he goes and does what they say and makes a fool of himself just for the fun of it. He will roll on the ground if they tell him to. He dances all over. He may be in the lead or he may come last. He has no special position. It is not dangerous to touch a clown as it is to touch another masked dancer.

535 522 203 The clown is the servant and messenger of the masked dancers. You notice that he runs over to the group of men who are singing for the dancers and bends down and says something. He is saying, "The dancers out there [resting in the woods] want to smoke and they need tobacco," or, "They want you to sing a 'high-step' dance song for them."

If you are a masked dancer, you can tell the clown to deliver a message for you. He goes among the people; it's all right for him to do it. People are all saying, "There's the clown. What is he after?" He gets near your man. Then he leans over quickly and delivers your message. And he's gone like a flash.

When I was a dancer, I used the clown. The girl I sent a message to is still living here. Just as we were going out from the fire I motioned to the clown, and he followed me. I told him, "See that girl by the wood pile. Tell her that I want to see her over here when the next dance begins." Pretty soon I saw the clown going toward that wood pile. He talked to my girl.

The next time they danced, I didn't go in. I went to the place where I was going to meet the girl. I had my mask on, and people I met couldn't see who I was. I was waiting there. Pretty soon I saw a girl coming. I jingled my costume to let her know I was there.[6]

535 To continue with the account of the preparation of the masked dancers. The men who are to dance, strip, don the kilts and moccasins, and stand or sit facing the east. The shaman puffs a preliminary cigarette to the directions while he recites an extemporaneous prayer such as this: [756] [782]

Under the heavens to the east, inside Big Star Mountain, can be seen the great Black Mountain Spirit. His body has been designed and the uprights of his

[6] It is dangerous to touch, speak to, or point at a masked dancer only when he is dancing or actually impersonating a supernatural.

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535 [782] [756]

headdress have been made with the big star. Against these diseases I use the sound of the Mountain Spirit rattling his headdress as he dances to the fire. By means of it I walk the earth. It drives all evil away. With it I perform this ceremony. With this I walk. That is all.

535 302 [413]

"They always start to paint the leader first. It doesn't matter who is finished first though." Helpers apply the paint with sticks which have been pounded, softened, and sometimes turned back at the end. Even the finger is used if the work has to proceed quickly. The helper, who has seen the masked dancers of this shaman perform many times and may have acted as dancer for the shaman himself, is usually familiar with the designs. What information he lacks is supplied by the shaman. Often masked dancers assist in painting each other.

535 302 756

Anyone can help the shaman paint the dancers. The shaman sits there and tells them what to do. Sometimes he paints too. When he has several men around, he will have everybody working on them. He will be singing and praying while they do it. I've never asked about this part. They start painting in the late afternoon. It takes some fellows longer than others. It doesn't make any difference whose masked dancers are first on the grounds below.

I painted masked dancers once. I was already painted myself and ready to go out. They were a little behind. I just went over and put the marks on one of the fellows to help out. I went ahead and did it while the shaman was there singing.

535 302 533 756 [534]

During the painting the shaman sings, beating a pottery drum with a curved drumstick. Should these songs not be sung in the right way, "the masked dancer would fall down like a man knocked out by a blow if he should touch another masked dancer down on the grounds." According to one masked-dancer shaman, his songs "call on the Mountain Spirits to give the dancers endurance," and so his dancers are able to "stay in there a long time."

535 533 [302] [787] [776] [823]

These songs which accompany the painting of the dancers are sung as memory and convenience dictate. The allusions in them are to the themes associated with the ceremony, to the "holy home" where the ritual was learned from the resident Mountain Spirits, to the sounds made by the pendants of the headdress and kilt as the dancers trot to the fire, to the cardinal directions from which the Mountain Spirits guard the Chiricahua against all sickness and danger. The prayer or softly and quickly [782]

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uttered recitation which separates the choruses can be freely translated as follows for one of these songs:

Inside the holy home
At the place called "Home in the Turning Rock,"
The Mountain Spirits, truly holy,
Rejoice over me to the four directions
And make sounds over me.

The words of another of these songs show a forceful and vivid imagery:

In the middle of the Holy Mountain,
In the middle of its body, stands a hut,
Brush-built, for the Black Mountain Spirit.
White lightning flashes in these moccasins;
White lightning streaks in angular path;
I am the lightning flashing and streaking!
This headdress lives; the noise of its pendants
Sounds and is heard!
My song shall encircle these dancers!

When the body-painting is finished, the dancers eat the generous meal provided for them by the feast-makers. It is nearly dusk now, and soon the great fire will be kindled below and the people will gather to see the entrance of the masked dancers.

While the shaman chants another set of four songs, the dancers line up in a row facing the east, headdresses in hand, praying and asking to be blessed. Of one of these songs the informant said:

I'm going to sing an old song. It's very valuable. It is sung when the masked dancers are standing there, painted, dancing in place, and ready to go out, shaking their headdresses. This song is called "Earth's Song." It is sung very slowly.

Thus speaks earth's thunder:
Because of it there is good about you,
Because of it your body is well:
Thus speaks earth's thunder.

As these songs are sung, the impersonators gyrate clockwise, uttering their call at the mention of the Mountain Spirits and motioning with their headdresses to the directions. The buckskin masks have been moistened so that they will be pliable. At the conclusion of the singing, the dancers, including the clown if

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PLATE VI

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

United States National Museum

HEADDRESSES OF THE MASKED DANCER

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one is present, spit into the masks four times, make three ritual feints toward themselves with the headdresses, and draw the masks over their heads the fourth time. Now they are ready to move in single file down the hillside, led by their most experienced dancer.

As they depart, they present a colorful spectacle. They wear high moccasins (with upturned toe) and buckskin skirts. These are colored yellow. The skirt is held in place by a broad belt; and from the skirt are suspended pendants of various kinds.[7] The arms and upper part of the body, with the exception of the face, are entirely covered with paint. Black, white, and yellow are most used; blue appears occasionally. The motifs most frequently employed are narrow bands of contrasting color, a branching design to stand for cactus, a saw-toothed element, a stepped line, a zigzag line, the triangle, the Greek cross, a pattée type cross, and a four-pointed star. These designs may remain the same all four nights, the same design may be used the first and third nights and another the second and fourth nights, or different designs may be painted each evening. Occasionally, the painted designs on the leader vary slightly from those of the others. The dancers carry painted wooden sticks in each hand; one or both of those carried by the leader may have a cross-piece at the handle. Long, narrow, buckskin streamers with eagle feathers attached are tied just above the elbows.

The mask is a buckskin hood which fits snugly over the head and is gathered at the neck by a drawstring. Two tiny holes for the eyes, and one sometimes cut at the mouth, are the only openings. These hoods are usually painted black but are also seen in yellow, in blue, or in two tones. When they are not a solid color, they may show such design elements as have been mentioned for the body. On the mask, at the forehead or nose

[7] Today, small cone-shaped jingles of tin have taken the place of these on the dance kilts, the dress made for the pubescent girl, and on other objects (awl cases, buckskin bags, burden baskets, etc.). To make these tin jingles, the metal is cut to proper size, placed over a depression in a board, and smartly struck at the median point. This curls the two sides, and it is then an easy matter to press them together with the fingers to form the cone, which is attached to the garment on a length of fringe.

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On the mask, at the forehead or nose region, may be suspended a piece of abalone shell or turquoise. One shaman employs the shell "because abalone has strength, and the masked dancers should have the same strength as the abalone."

At its top the hood is attached to the horns[8] or uprights by spreading prongs of a piece of oak which has been split, soaked in water, and heated until it could be worked. At its upper end this piece is connected to the yucca or sotol frame which rises above it. A bunch of turkey feathers or some green juniper is tied at the point of union. The superstructure of wooden slats looks like a great, squarish candelabra balanced on the top of the dancer's head. It is essentially a horizontal bar to which vertical pieces approximately two feet high have been attached at the two ends and in the middle. From each end of the horizontal support hang two or four short lengths of wood called "earrings." These strike against one another, making a sound that has become a symbol for the approach of the dancers. From the tops of the vertical pieces float downy eagle feathers. The colors of the uprights are black, yellow, and green (blue);[9] red "would be used only by a witch on a masked dancer horn."

The shaman, drum in hand, may accompany his dancers to the edge of the clearing. Then, often, he will join the group of men who have gathered at the north of the ceremonial structure to sing for the masked dancers.

But the entrance of the dancers may be delayed still further, for they are often called upon at this time to cure. Yet the fiction of their purely social function at the puberty rite is maintained by having what serious ritual they attempt remain a private matter, unguided by the sponsors of the ceremony:

[8] That the headdress should be called "horns" is of special interest, in the light of the fact that Mountain Spirits are associated with the protection and guardianship of game animals, the most important of which have horns.

[9] Juice of the yucca leaf is mixed with charcoal, yellow ocher or a decoction from algerita root, and soft turquoise to obtain these colors. The addition of the yucca juice makes the difference between the impermanent paint used on the bodies of the dancers and the fixed color with which the headdress and sticks are painted. Green and blue are not terminologically differentiated.

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Sometimes, before the masked dancers go out to the fire, people come for help to the place where they are being painted. They come of their own accord. I never liked to work at this, but I couldn't say "No." When you're all dressed up and someone comes, and the old man tells you to help them, you have to do it. You can't say "No." It wouldn't be right. 535 755

The general rule is, according to the way some shamans do it, that the leading dancer blows the disease away. I've done it myself. The others dance behind the leader as he approaches the sick one from the directions, but they don't touch the sick person. It seems that the shamans feel it will be better and quicker if the leader does it instead of all the dancers. Some dancers are beginners. They might mix things up. But some shamans require all the masked dancers to work on the sick one and blow the disease away. This takes longer. 535 755 756

It takes about fifteen or twenty minutes for one man to go through it. While we are dancing, the shaman smokes, prays, and sings. He makes a regular little ceremony. If the patient does not get better that night, he comes back the next night.

Not all the curing occurs at the place of preparation. Sometimes arrangements are made by sick persons or their relatives for the services of the masked dancers at one of the camps below.[10] 535 755

If were down by the fire and someone was sick, we'd cure him with this song [a masked-dancer song used for curing or for the painting of the dancers] off to the side of the grounds.

First the sick person or a relative would have to request the ceremony from the leader of the masked dancers. He has to throw pollen to the directions, put pollen over the masked dancer's right foot, and come up and around his body to the left foot with it. If it is a woman who is sick, she puts a piece of abalone on his foot. It is tied to a string and has an eagle feather with it. A man puts a piece of turquoise with an eagle feather there. The shaman doesn't take this and keep it; the masked-dancer leader keeps it. I had a whole bunch of them. Some other shamans, like T., take it themselves. But that was not the way of the one for whom I danced. [788] [756]

This stone and feather can be used back. If I sympathize with someone who is sick, I give it to him, providing he uses it to ask the man for whom I dance. I give it to him and tell him how to use it.

When all the ceremonies for which requests have been made are concluded, the masked dancers make their way to the dance 881 535

[10] In the summer of 1931, at a girl's puberty rite, I witnessed such a ceremony performed over a youth who was becoming increasingly deaf. The rite took place at the edge of the dance clearing, just to the south of the central fire, before the impersonators began to dance for the people. [114]

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PLATE VII

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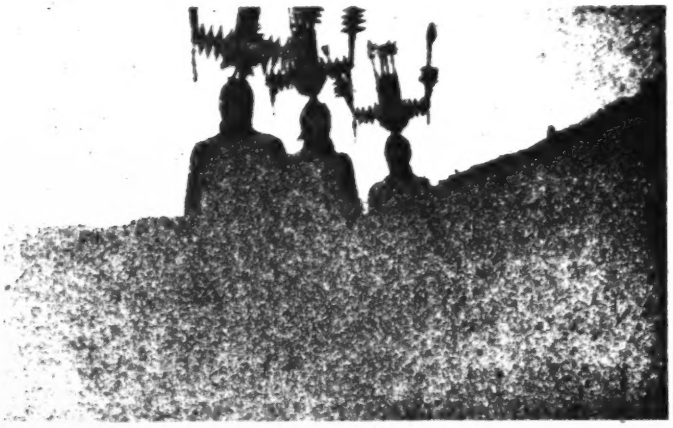
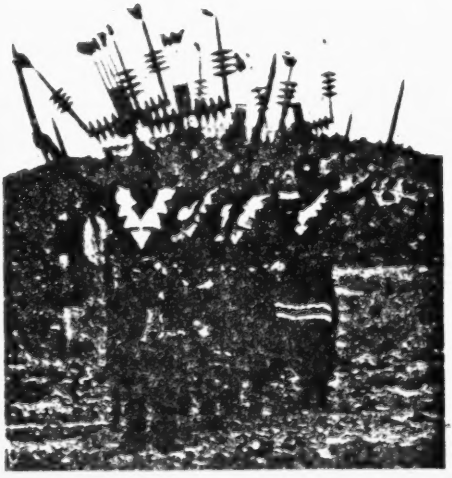


a) Masked Dancers Coming Down from the Hills at Dusk

[392]



b) Worshiping the Fire

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881 arena. Sounding their call, they burst into the open space from
535 the east at a trot and circle the fire. They are greeted by the cry of the women and the prayers of the devout.

> . . . . They would come down at night carrying a big light. . . . . When they first came down the hill, even if the camp were a large one, they used to go around to each home and not miss a single one. Just as soon as the people saw them coming they began to pray. . . . . "Men of the Mountain,"[1] they would say, "I wish you would protect me. If anything comes to hurt me, stand in front of me and help me."

881 First the dance group "worships the fire" from the directions:
535
372 This is what the old man told me when I was the leader of his dancers. "The first time you come in and go to the fire, go around it four times. Then approach it from the east. When you get within about eight paces of the fire, just when the light begins to shine on you, sound the masked-dancer call. Then go around the fire once. Stop at the south, go toward the fire, sway and make the call in the same way. Do the same from the west and the north. Next come back where you started from, the east, and worship the fire again from there."

881 Sometimes the ceremonial structure is circled and "blessed,"
535 each pole being approached in clockwise rotation by the single
[346] file of dancers and clasped by the leader. Then the dancers trot off to the east and vanish in the darkness. On their way through the camps they may dance back and forth before a dwelling
[755] where there has been sickness or trouble. The entire encampment may be circled, and sickness frightened away by gesticulation and blowing.

881 With the arrival of the dancers, the restrictions applicable to
535 the onlookers come into force. No one may address or call the
784 name of an impersonator whom he recognizes; no one may point, with hand or lips, to a masked dancer; nor may anyone touch a dancer when he is in costume. "If you don't worship them in the
[796] right way, you should be frightened." However, neither men nor women confuse the impersonators with the actual Mountain Spirits. "The dancers do not turn into the real Mountain Spirits while they are dancing. They stay men but just get more strength." The restrictions are obeyed, not from fear of the

[1] A term for Mountain Spirits indicating greatest respect and used when supplicating these supernaturals or when there is reason to fear them.

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power of those dancing, but because "the real Mountain Spirits could bring on sickness or death if these things were violated."

The added strength of the masked dancers is attributed to the costumes they wear:

The costume gives the dancer strength. He doesn't get tired. There are no holes near the nose for breathing in the masks. The man wearing the mask is fighting for breath. When he gets tired, he runs his sticks around his body and then flourishes them in the air, and in this way he rids himself of his tiredness. If it was not for this, he couldn't last through one song.

When the masked dancers return, a knot of men assembled just northeast of the entrance of the ceremonial structure is ready to beat out the measure of the songs with stout sticks on a thick piece of rawhide. Others hold buckskin-covered pottery drums which they will strike with curved drumsticks.

From the east the masked dancers spring into the glare of the firelight and move swiftly around the fire:

When the leader of the masked dancers throws his arms wide, this means to the singers that they are to begin. The men at the rawhide know that this is the signal. If they don't start to sing, the dancers go past them, then turn toward them and repeat the gesture. If they don't start then, the dancers can leave the grounds if they want to. Many times I have done that. I figured, "Well, I'm not going to let them just watch me! It's no use to run around here without any song." Sometimes, as you come toward the rawhide after blessing the fire, they start right in. Then, as you go past, you cry, "Hoo-hoo-hoo!" which is just like saying, "That's fine! That's what we want!" The masked dancers can't talk but they make that sound. It means, "Go ahead and sing." I was told to make the masked dancer call when turquoise, abalone, cloud, Mountain Spirit, White Painted Woman, and other holy things and people were mentioned in the songs.

The songs to which the dancers perform at the feast grounds are not the same as those to which they were painted but are associated with definite dance steps. The shaman may know and use both kinds of songs, but just as often another person will lead the singing during the evening. The relatives of the adolescent girl have to make sure that some qualified person will be present to perform this function.

I am an official singer for masked dancers. The parents of the girl will ask me to sing at their feast. They pay me. I will be singing for one family. I learned these songs. I sat in and gained experience. No one else would sing my songs. It's not done.

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535 533 881 It is the privilege of the singer to begin the song and to recite alone the prayer or half-spoken, half-chanted portion interspersed between the nonsense-syllable refrains. At the refrain the other members of the chorus join in heartily again, and so these songs give the impression of great bursts of melody, suddenly hushed and as suddenly resumed and swelled. When a singer of these songs grows tired or feels that he should make way for another, he relinquishes his post and joins the chorus, while his successor contributes other songs. The songs of any individual are well known to those of his region, so that it is always possible to bring together a chorus.

The songs are classified in three groups, each related to one of three types of dance: the "free step," the "short step," and the "high step." The dancers, and especially the leader, must be able to recognize a song at once and enter upon the proper step.

The performance always begins with a free-step song, so called because it imposes less formal restrictions upon the actions of the dancers and allows more exhibition of individuality than either of the other two. When he hears this music, "a man uses his own judgment and dances according to his feelings." The best performers contest in the firelight for the rolling, throaty call of approval of the audience.

535 533 881 782 539 The prayers of the free-step songs are similar in theme to those of the songs sung when the dancers are painted:

I

At the place called "Home in the Center of the Sky,"
Inside is the home's holiness.
The door to the home is of white clouds.
There all the Gray Mountain Spirits
Rejoicing over me
Kneel in the four directions with me.

II

When first my power was created,
Pollen's body, speaking my words,
Brought my power into being,
So I have come here.

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After the first, free-step, masked-dancer song, "they switch around, singing the songs of the different steps so that the masked dancers don't get tired." A second type of song is that which accompanies the short step. The words of these songs are much like those of the free-step songs, but the rhythm and mode of execution of the step are different. The dance is marked by bodily rigidity, studied posturing, and short, terse steps.

The third kind of song is that to which the dancers perform the high step. The prayers of these songs reveal nothing new. But the dance step itself departs widely from the others. As soon as the dancers recognize the character of the song, they form a circle around the fire, facing away from it, and dance with vehemence, throwing first one leg and then the other forward and upward. The dance is much like the Russian *trepak* except that the performers do not squat so low during its execution. Although this dance is the most spectacular of the three and is constantly requested by the audience, it is so difficult that it is performed much less often than the other two.

Despite the excitement and the rivalry the potential dangers for the participants are never forgotten. If two dancers collide, especially if they have been painted by different shamans, and one drops a stick, he dare not pick it up at once. He will stagger around as if dazed until his companions, lining up in single file, "worship" the wand from the directions and the leader picks it up and returns it to him.

Inside the ceremonial structure.—While the exhibition of the masked dancers is at its height, another phase of the rite, more closely associated with the fate of the pubescent girl, is quietly unfolding.

Sometime during the early part of the night the singer makes his way to the place where the girl and her attendant await him. The girl hands him the rattle that was intrusted to her. He extends an eagle feather toward her, and she grasps the tip of it with her right hand. He shakes the rattle and walks slowly backward, singing:

> They move her by means of the finest eagle feather,
> By means of it White Painted Woman walks into her home.

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fire pit is flanked at each cardinal point by a flat rock painted red on top. These "stand for" the mescal or century plant, a food staple, and act as a prayer that the girl may find and prepare an abundant supply of mescal in the course of her life. A stone bowl, the mortar for the paints of the ceremony, is set toward the east this first night. This, too, will be moved each night.

The singer rolls a cigarette, lights it with the slow fuse, and smokes and prays. His voice is hardly audible. The attendant, using the same fuse, also offers smoke ceremonially. Then the singer starts to shake the hoof rattle which he holds in his right hand and begins his first song.

The songs of this ceremony are in reality a journey in which the girl is brought to the holy home and from there is conducted symbolically through a long and successful life.

We think of a woman's life as blocked out in parts. One is girlhood, one is young womanhood, one is middle age, and one is old age. The songs are supposed to carry her through them. The first songs describe the holy home and the ceremony. Later come the songs about the flowers and the growing things. These stand for her youth, and as the songs go through the seasons the girl is growing up and reaching old age.

At the conclusion of a song the singer explained:

This song is about flowers. We are taking this girl through a beautiful life. This is the conception of a beautiful life for the Apache. We take the girl through beautiful lands, past flowers, through seasons with their fruits. The translation doesn't mean much, but there is a great deal to it if you think about it.

There is a general tendency to move, as the songs continue, from the more remote and abstract qualities to the growing things of the earth.

The big ceremony starts with songs of the sun, the moon, and such things. Then comes the earth. Then the songs are mostly about the earth and the things that grow on it, about the fruits, the trees, the plants; about even the children. Nothing is left out. . . .

. . . . On the fourth night the songs deal with all the different grasses and carry them through all the different stages of development, from spring to winter. Then by morning we are through.

The songs belong to two general groups, and each kind of song is accompanied by a different dance. Most numerous are the "shuffling-step" songs, and, when these are sung, the girl stands,

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raises her arms upright from the elbows with palms outward, holds her feet close together, and moves from left to right and right to left by alternately pivoting on her toes and her heels. The second type of song calls for an "in-place" step and provides rest from the exertions of the first type. In its performance the girl sways in place with her hands on her hips.[13]

Because of the repetition of its verses, each song is long, and the shuffling step is very tiring. But, whenever the girl is weary, she may stop and kneel, even though the song is not finished. The singer makes no attempt to test or to overtax her.

The singer watches the girl and uses his judgment. The idea is not to let her get too tired. There is the dance the girls do with their arms up. The word for it means "shuffling," sliding to a place as a horse does. They sing about six songs of this kind and then change to the one where the girl dances in place with her hands on her hips. The singer tells the girl which dance to do if she does not know. They sing fewer songs of this second kind. These are just to rest the girl.

Every fourth, sixth, or twelfth song may be set aside for a "smoking song," after which the singer smokes or prays:

After about six songs they have a smoking song. They smoke after this song; all those inside can smoke then; There is no dancing during the smoking song. The girl can rest; she can kneel but cannot sit. She must have her body erect. There are many of the smoking songs. After this they start singing and dancing again.

The initial song of the first night is of the shuffling-step type. "This is the first song sung. It is the home's own song, the first one sung when they are in there." The second song, also of the shuffling-step variety, simply repeats between refrains these words:

I have walked well
Into the home of White Painted Woman.

Now follow songs of the singer's choosing, fixed only in accordance with the general pattern already outlined. No definite number of songs need be sung during the night. One singer remarked:

[13] An informant described a third step, which he claims was formerly danced by the pubescent girl. "It is called 'walking around.' The girl has her arms up and her elbows pointed down. She walks forward, turns toward the south, and comes back, doing this four times. It's mostly to rest and relax." This step is not performed now.

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"In summer I sing fewer songs because the nights are short. In winter I sing more." After the introductory numbers, the songs are arranged in groups of fours. The songs of each group are called "siblings of the same sex" because, in passing from one to another in a set of four songs, an alteration of a word or two of the prayer may be the only discernible change.

Throughout the dancing the attendant remains in her station at the south. Whenever, in the course of the singing, the names of supernaturals or sacred substances are mentioned, she raises her voice in the call of applause.

The songs of the ceremony are too numerous to reproduce in full, but a few of different types, representative of the first night's repertory, are here given in free translation. First are two shuffling-step dance songs:

I

Killer of Enemies, source of long life,
White Painted Woman has come inside;
She grows up by means of it.

II

The spruce home of White Painted Woman is built of long life,
By means of a home built of this she has gone inside,
By means of her power of goodness White Painted Woman has come to her,
By means of it the words have gone inside.

Of the in-place dance songs the following two examples are offered:

I

I come to White Painted Woman,
By means of long life I come to her.
I come to her by means of her blessing,
I come to her by means of her good fortune,
I come to her by means of all her different fruits;
By means of the long life she bestows, I come to her;
By means of this holy truth she goes about.

II

I am about to sing this song of yours,
The song of long life.
Sun, I stand here on the earth with your song;
Moon, I have come in with your song.

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881 The translation below indicates the character of the third type
533 of song—the smoking song. Often, when the men who are sitting
276 just outside the structure singing and drumming for the masked
461 dancers hear one of these songs, they also pause to smoke.

[539]

The time for smoking has come.
With the sun's tobacco let all be made pleasant.
From here on let good constantly follow,
From now on let many old men and old women rejoice;
Let them come back to many ceremonies like this;
Let all the girls be happy;
Let them know many ceremonies like this;
Let all rejoice;
Let all the boys rejoice;
Let them attend many ceremonies like this.

881 The dancing within the ceremonial structure is brought to an
535 early close the first night. Sometimes the masked dancers are
793 still circling the fire as the singer, the attendant, and the girl file
[788] sunwise from the holy home. If this is the case, the girl may be asked to shuffle around the fire in the wake of the masked impersonators before leaving for her camp. Meanwhile the attendant has gathered up the hide, the rattle, and the feather and will keep them until they are needed on the following night.

881 *The social dancing.*—If the masked dancers have not left be-
535 fore the girl has concluded her dance within the ceremonial struc-
574 ture, they disappear for the night soon afterward. But the evening's activities have scarcely begun for the visitors. Social dancing is closely associated in the popular mind with the ceremony, for this is one of the few occasions which brings together enough people to make it possible. The dances take place every night and must follow an invariable order.

881 The songs for the social dances contrast markedly with the
533 sacred music:

[535] With the social dance songs it is different. They don't belong to any one person. Anyone can sing them. Anyone can make up his own, and, if it is a good one and the people like it, he and others will keep singing it. Anyone can join in these songs if he knows them, even in the part with the words. These songs are funny. You can say almost anything in them.

PLATE VIII

THE ROUND DANCE (THE CEREMONIAL STRUCTURE IN THE BACKGROUND)

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533 This is the song to which my wife and I fell in love. It's not much of a song;
211 but I thought a lot of it and so did she. N. was singing it. It is his morning song.
881 I went out with her under the piñon trees and I sang this song to her during the days of the feast. I've had this song for my favorite ever since. It reminds my wife and me of that time.

881 The few words of a social dance song are rich in implication.
533 Once an old man dismissed American songs with a contemptu-
[186] ous, "There isn't much singing to them; it's all words!" Doubtless he was thinking of the more subtle technique of his people, by which, with a few well-chosen words and a wealth of inner meaning, a dozen youths can be made to hang their heads.

881 As soon as the masked dancers have departed for the night,
• 535 the first of the social dances—the round dance—begins. Several
533 men holding pottery drums come together. Others form a compact knot around them, and this group, their arms around each other's shoulders, circles the fire clockwise. One man, ordinarily one of the drummers, begins a song, and the others join in. Now women step out and stand at the side of the singers, forming a circle. Sometimes the circle incloses the singers. The dancers face the fire and shuffle sideways, clockwise, in time to the music.

In the round-dance songs such words as "Stoop," or "Faster," may be the only words, and the dancers are expected to follow
881 these commands. Others may contain only a short phrase or two,
533 but these few words satirize common foibles and provoke general amusement. In a certain round-dance song one question is simply repeated over and over:

[539] What belongs to us?

This seems enigmatic to an outsider, but it is fraught with meaning to the dancers:

This is a round-dance song. "What belongs to us?" Where are our possessions? We haven't got anything. That is what this song means. Many people get married but haven't anything. What is going to be ours when we get married? Suppose I am dancing. I want to marry a girl though I have nothing. Then I'll be ashamed when they sing this, as lots of boys are.

Another of these songs derides the marriage of a young girl to an ill-favored old man:

[539] She married an old man
With big buttocks!

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The domestic intruder receives mention:

He asks me what happened
To his wife!

For the young people who are planning an assignation, a song has this reminder:

Wait for me
At the high bluff over there.

One song has to do with those who have become acquainted at the feast and soon must separate:

You will go back to your distant home;
We will be lonesome.

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[264]

At midnight, often at the time when the second social dance of the evening is about to get under way, food is again served.

I have called the second dance of the night the "partner" dance:

After the circle dance, the men get in a group by the fire and the women go around and choose partners. A woman pulls at a man's clothes or pokes him if she wants him for a partner. Then he has to dance.

It's a general rule that the man has to pay the woman something if he dances with her. He pays after the four nights. If you haven't got anything, you tell the woman the first night so she can choose someone else. It is understood that if you dance with a woman you have something for her. It's not that you have to pay if you dance, but it's just too bad if you don't. Everybody talks about you. The girl will tell everyone. She will say, "That man is no good; he didn't pay." All the girls will say this then.

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[626]

The girl dances with the same man for the four nights. It is right then that they fall in love. A girl chooses a boy she likes. I got acquainted with my wife this way. I danced with her. That's what these dances are mostly for.

[584]

To execute the partner dance, a man and woman remain in the same line but face in opposite directions. The man's left arm is opposite the woman's left arm, or his right arm is opposite her right arm. The couples, who are scattered here and there, dance forth and back in relation to the fire, about four steps one way and then four the other. Occasionally, two women tap the same man and then he must dance with both and must finally pay both.

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Blood kin and affinal relatives, including husband and wife, may not dance together. "You have to be sure you are not related.

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535 lated. Sometimes a man makes a mistake and asks a girl who is
[602] his kin to dance with him. She says, 'No, you are related to me.' "

881 There is a definite etiquette attached to the partner dance:
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576 Some touch or link arms. A very prominent or dignified man would not touch a woman during the dance though. He wouldn't get familiar. A man who dances politely will have his hands locked over his breast. It shows that the man is not bothering the woman. N. [a prominent Chiricahua] always danced with his hands locked over his chest.

An unmarried man may dance with a married woman, or the other way around. It is all right to talk to your partner while you are dancing.

881 The songs of the partner dance do not differ materially from
533 those of the round dance.
539

We will go to the last home.

are the only words of one. Its inner meaning is somewhat more complex, however: "The song means that perhaps your camp is the one far from the feast grounds and that after the dance you two are going over there together."

In another song of this type ridicule is heaped on the young man who is enamored of an older woman, the mother of children:

When there is a gathering for the ceremony, sweetheart,
I will take care of your baby for you,
I will take care of your baby for you.

Still another runs as follows:

Oh, Mescalero maiden, don't be afraid;
They are already gossiping about us,
But don't be afraid.
They who speak so chew rocks;[12]
Don't be afraid.

881 The songs of the third and last social dance of each night of the
533 puberty rite may appropriately be called the morning-dance
535 songs, since the dance they accompany begins several hours before dawn and continues until daybreak.

Toward morning the songs change, and the men and women separate and get in two lines facing each other. The lines are pretty far apart, and the partners of the dance which has just ended are right across from each other. When the sing-

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[12] That is, "are envious"; witches are often said to "chew rocks."

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ing starts, the lines come toward each other, stopping a few feet apart, and then separate. They go back and forth like this. The singers are in a line with the men and go back and forth with them. This dancing goes on until sunrise. 881 533 [535]

The round-dance songs and the partner-dance songs may or may not have words, but the songs of the morning dance always have words. These morning-dance songs are the favorites. "The morning songs, the love songs, sound beautiful. They are high pitched. We like them best of all. People just fall in love there singing them."

Some of these compositions well earn the name of "love song" which informants have given them: 881 533 539

I

I see that girl again,
Then I become like this;
I see my own sweetheart again,
Then I become like this.

II

Maiden, you talk kindly to me,
You, I shall surely remember it,
I shall surely remember you alone,
Your words are so kind,
You, I shall surely remember it.

A reproachful note is struck in one of these songs:

My sweetheart, we surely could have gone home,
But you were afraid!
When it was night we surely could have gone home,
But you were afraid!

Of the manner of singing the following somewhat acrid song a commentator said:

The song is really sung by the men all the way through. But the men take the part of the women and then of the men. As they dance together, the men take the part first of one and then of the other. When the men are singing the part of the men, they change the word "man" in the song to "woman."

Man from a distant land,
Why do you talk to me?
Why do you talk to me?
Why do you talk to me?
What have you done for me
But just talk to me?

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533 Another morning song purports to be a passage between a man and a woman who is endeavoring to hide her age so that she may have a good time:

[539]

They tell me you are old:
I, I don't think so.

Then there are the lines depicting the confusion of two young friends who cannot bring themselves to separate:

[539]

Woman from a far land,
Give me your moccasins that I may be going.
Man from a far land,
Give me your moccasins that I may be going.

At dawn those who have remained up all night disperse for a few hours of rest. There will be no morning ceremony to rouse them, for the puberty rite proper of the second day is not resumed until nightfall.

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[574] *Events through the fourth night.*—During the morning and afternoon of the second day visiting, feasting, gambling, and
[525] sporadic social dancing take place. The girl has no special duties during the day, although she must be mindful of her general re-
[535] strictions. If she becomes restless, she may be permitted to walk toward the hills or to join in the daytime social dancing for short intervals.

At dusk the events of the preceding evening are repeated without significant variation. The central fire is renewed, the masked dancers appear, the pubescent girl is led to the ceremonial structure, and later in the evening the same social dances, in identical order, are again performed.

In outline the third day and third night differ in no essential way from the second day and night. The activities of the fourth day, moreover, follow closely those of the second and third days.

But the fourth night of the ceremony departs in several important respects from what has gone before. The first events are the familiar ones. At dusk the masked dancers appear and repeat
[533] their performance. And, as before, when the masked-dancer dis-
[793] play is at its height, the singer leads the girl to the ceremonial

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structure. This time, however, he brings with him a bundle of narrow sticks of mock orange wood. Beginning at the southeast and moving clockwise around the fire pit, he erects one stick for every song he sings this fourth night, until the fire pit is surrounded except for a space to the east that must remain open. After every set of four songs has been sung and the corresponding four sticks have been set up, a fifth, shorter length of wood is placed horizontally on the ground between this set and the one to follow. This horizontal piece represents a smoking song presumably: "When I lay the stick down, there is a song about smoking that goes with it. The song comes first, then I put the stick down, then smoke, then pray, then go on to the next set." For the first three nights the singing and dancing within the structure cease at midnight or before. But this night they continue until daybreak.

The songs of the second, third, and fourth nights to which the girl dances are a continuation of the life-journey pattern. In order to indicate the sweep of this ritual progression, a number of songs, arranged roughly in chronological order in respect to the rite as a whole, are introduced. The first, a shuffling-step song, has to do with the birds:

> White Painted Woman commands that which lies above,
> Killer of Enemies commands,
> By means of long life they command.
> From the mouth of the chief bird
> Yellowness emerges by means of it,
> By means of it yellow emerges from your mouth.

The girl's necklace, symbolic of lifelong wealth, is celebrated in a shuffling-step song:

> The words of Killer of Enemies, good through long life,
> Have entered you;
> They have entered you by means of your necklace;
> Your necklace has gone into your body,
> For its power is good.

Of the next song, which he called "She Sleeps with It," the singer said:

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881 In this song the girl is taken through the sleeping period, through a rest period. We take her through all experiences with these songs.
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539

White Painted Woman's power emerges,
Her power for sleep.
White Painted Woman carries this girl;
She carries her through long life,
She carries her to good fortune,
She carries her to old age,
She bears her to peaceful sleep.

The growth of the things of the earth is emphasized in many of the songs. This one tells of the grasses:

By means of the ceremony I have gone to White Painted Woman,
I have gone to the source of long life created of goodness.
White Painted Woman, her grasses are striped with yellow,
Killer of Enemies spoke thus;
White Painted Woman, her grasses are much striped with blue,
Killer of Enemies, his grasses are much striped with red.

Periods of life are commemorated:

White Painted Woman has reached middle age by means of it,
She has reached middle age by means of it,
By means of it she has entered long life,
She has reached middle age by means of it.

The last years of life are referred to symbolically in song in terms of the "old age staff":

He made the black staff of old age for me,
He made the road of the sun for me;
These holy things he has made for me, saying,
"With these you will grow old."
Now when I have become old,
You will remember me by means of them.

881 If this selection is allowed to represent the song cycle as it unfolds through the four nights, the events which take place in the interior of the ceremonial structure until sunrise of the fifth day have been indicated.

881 On the fourth night the masked dancers have an additional
• 535 and interesting role:

On the last night the masked dancers come out and stay all night. They do their own dances until ten or eleven o'clock. Then comes the round dance. They

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save about four good masked dancers, keep them fresh. These go around for about an hour and chase all the people out to dance. They even chase them from their camps and get them out of bed. They bring out the girls and make them dance. The masked dancers do not push the people toward the dance grounds with their hands. They just make the noise and motion with their sticks. They get a girl and give their cry and bring her out. I have gone after them this way. Toward morning even the girl for whom the feast is given can be brought out to dance. 881 535

The restriction against speaking lapses for the masked dancers at this time: 881 535 784

The masked dancer asks a girl, "Who shall I get for you to dance with?" The girl says, "That man by the fire." So the dancer goes over there and pulls that fellow. The man never pulls back. He has to go and dance.

The relaxation of the masked dancer's semisacred role goes even further:

The last night the masked dancer can dance with any girl if she chooses him, and this girl has to be paid. But the feast-maker has to pay her for him. The masked dancer has been helping him all night, so of his own accord the feast-giver walks out there and pays the girl. I have seen that happen many times.

Every man has to compensate his partner at the close of the dancing: 881 535 465

One time everyone was paying but one man. He had nothing with him, but he must have had some horses over at his camp. This man walked around there and picked up a dry ball of horse dung. He walked back to the place where the other men were paying the women. He went to the girl he had danced with and right before the crowd he handed her the horse dung. Even in those days very few knew the meaning of this. Horses were very scarce then, and it was pretty hard to part with a horse and give it to anybody.

The girl receiving the horse dung didn't know the meaning of it. She took it home to her people, to her camp. She told her father and mother, "This is all I got!"

Her father was an old man and knew what it meant. He told her right away, "That's more than the other people got over there. That means a horse; that man means he is going to give you a horse." Sure enough, that came true.

Upon the givers of the feast falls the responsibility of seeing that all participants are satisfied with their rewards: "If a girl is not paid and the boy runs away, she can go to the ones giving the ceremony or to someone in authority there and protest. This has been done." As a final gesture of appreciation toward 881 574 [578] [465]

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As a final gesture of appreciation toward those who have helped make the social aspect of their ceremony a success, the hosts "give a personal present to the women who dance until sunup."

Conclusion.—The final events of the rite should take place in the sun's rays and, if the sunrise is obscured by clouds, the people wait patiently for the emergence of the first beams. As the eastern skies become lighter, twelve songs, familiarly known as "stop" songs, close another chapter of the ceremony. One of the last of these, heralding the appearance of the sun, simply repeats over and over:

> The sun, emerging,
> Says to me, "My grandchild."

The last of this series is a graceful apotheosis of the life-journey upon which the adolescent girl has embarked:

> You have started out on the good earth;
> You have started out with good moccasins;
> With moccasin strings of the rainbow, you have started out;
> With moccasin strings of the sun's rays, you have started out;
> In the midst of plenty you have started out.

Now the girl faces the east, kneeling on the hide. The space to the east of the ceremonial structure is cleared of all loiterers:

> They won't let anyone, even a dog, go across between the sun and the ceremonial structure on the last morning. They say that anyone who does this will get sick and die. I believe it. T.'s daughter didn't think and went across once just as the sun was coming up. She died soon afterward.

The sticks which have been erected around the fire pit during the singing are gathered up in clockwise direction, tied in a bundle, and deposited in the coiled basket tray containing the other ceremonial objects.

The singer faces the east with the basket before him and sings four songs. Everything is taken out of the basket except white clay. Then the singer faces the girl and puts pollen first on his own face and head and then on her head. Meanwhile the attendant has mixed water with the white clay in the basket. After another song, the singer paints a line of white and red on the girl's face. Again he turns to the east. He hands his rattle to a man who comes forward to assist him.

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nevertheless is called female rain." To stop rain or snow, lice are hunted and tied to a rock with sinew; or an individual may draw a charcoal ring around his anus and lift his buttocks to the sky to bring the sun out. Sudden storms are regarded with fear. "If it doesn't look like rain, but then the wind and dust come up suddenly and it starts to rain, it brings news—bad news of death. If someone is very sick and this happens, it means he won't last. I have seen it happen."

Various things are seen in the half or full moon, the most common being walnut or cottonwood trees and a human face. Some persons think that watching the sunrise or sunset colors will cause sickness. Warts are also the penalty for pointing to heavenly bodies with the fingers; only the thumb may be so used.

Pulling out gray hair is said to make it grow faster; it is also held that one who brings water and drinks first himself will grow old quickly. It is forbidden to step over a person who is sitting or lying down: "If someone starts to step over you before he sees you, he has to go back. If he has already stepped over, he has to step back." Because it "may cause a severe pain in the stomach, food which is being cooked is not stirred with a knife." Eating frogs can result, it is thought, in bowlegs. Blood and tobacco are considered incompatible:

> My people don't want any blood around when they smoke. If there is blood on the hands, they will get it off before they smoke. If a person has a knife with blood on it, he cleans it up or puts it away before he smokes. He will have bad luck otherwise.

Much of the cosmology is expressed in terms similar to the beliefs already enumerated. Thus, the pitching of a flour-laden burro explains the Milky Way; an earthquake is the crying of the earth over an approaching epidemic; eclipses, either of the sun or of the moon, warn of epidemics also and necessitate a masked-dancer ceremony to ward off the disaster; a shooting star points to an advancing enemy; of a cloudburst it is said, "The sky is old and has split there; when it is sewed up it will be all right."

Of greater significance than such beliefs is a diagnostic sign, a muscular tremor, which few fail to heed at some time in their lives:

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Jesus), comes into possession of a book. Its loss will result in the captivity and misfortune of his people. At his death the book is burned, according to custom, with the rest of his possessions, and the dire results foretold come to pass. Stories of this man and of another who followed him and had a like adventure (Kantaneiro)[5] have a distinctly biblical flavor.

There are two other sets of supernaturals—the Mountain People and the Water Beings. The Mountain People are of more importance than any supernaturals so far mentioned, with the possible exception of Child of the Water and White Painted Woman. They are not mentioned in the stories of the period when the animals spoke like people but appear in a separate series.

> There are people in the mountains who are just like us. They are not masked dancers, but they make masked dancers just as we do here. Those they make can take off their masked dancer costumes and dress as we do. We hear the people drum in there and we hear the masked-dancer performance too. We hear words in there when we listen at cliffs or mountains, but we can't see the people. We call all these people in there Mountain People. They live in these mountains and have many children. There are girls, boys, women, and old men there. The real masked dancers are the masked dancers of these people.[6]

Two kinds of Water Beings are mentioned. One, a beneficent supernatural, is called Controller of Water:

> He is some man, not of this earth. He is the one who controls the water. I hear of him in the songs, the ceremonial songs. In those songs and in prayers they talk of Water Controller who sits at the water gate and stops the water. They hold up their hands and sing, "Controller of Water, please give us a little water." He lives up above somewhere. He is only mentioned in the ceremonies that belong to different people. Some sing that his shirt is of clouds of different colors. Some say that he wears a shirt of abalone.
>
> He holds the rain. He lets it loose or shuts it off. You sing to him if you know his song. If people believe and learn his song, they can get rain.

[5] In 1909 M. R. Harrington, who was gathering specimens from Chiricahua Indians in Oklahoma for the museum expedition supported by Mr. George G. Heye, obtained a story which associated Kantaneiro with the Mountain Spirits (see M. R. Harrington, "The Devil Dance of the Apaches," *Museum Journal* [Philadelphia], March, 1912, pp. 6–9).

[6] The name "Mountain People" will be used to refer to the total population of mountain-dwelling supernaturals; the term "Mountain Spirits," to those of the Mountain People who act as dancers. It is the Mountain Spirits who are impersonated by the masked dancers of the Chiricahua.

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Power is bitterly resentful if its ceremony is conducted in a slovenly or erroneous fashion, for this is evidence of little interest and faith.

It must not be thought that a shaman is concerned with his power only at times of ritual or when he is in communication with his supernatural guardian. This relationship invades every realm of interest and activity. One man, who has a ceremony from Lightning, tends to interpret everything possible in terms of it. He even sees a lightning symbol in the zigzag lacing of the child's cradle, a point that no one else seems willing to concede. Elsewhere I have indicated how the nature of a man's ceremony and power source may even affect the manner in which he relates traditional legends.[8]

In the course of a rite a constant interchange between the power and the shaman takes place. "A shaman with masked dancers does not paint them just the way he wants to. Every time he wants to paint, a picture comes before his eyes and tells him what to paint."

The shaman is the custodian of the songs and ritual with which he has been intrusted. It is his obligation to see that they are not inappropriately used. "If a man has a ceremonial song and his power has told him to sing it a certain way, he doesn't want anyone else to sing it, and he will tell him it's wrong if he tries."

It not infrequently happens that the power and the shaman discover that on some specific issue they have contrary aims or interests:

> The old people say that a shaman often falls out with his own power. Many stories have been told about that, all of them true. After many years, the power will ask some shamans to sacrifice some of their best friends or the very ones they love best in the family. That's what they say.
>
> There was one man who was a war shaman. He was well protected by his power. Once he had his own group of men ready to go into battle. Usually before going into battle, he would sing for his men and pray for them so that nobody would get a wound. This time he was praying for his men who were going into battle. All his warriors were sitting around him that night. He had never kept

[8] "Three Types of Variation and Their Relation to Culture Change," in *Language, Culture, and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*, pp. 146–57.

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Since it is so dangerous when lightning strikes near by, everything is avoided that might "draw" it:

When I was little I was told not to have anything red around when it was raining. Even in camps we used to stick red things under something so they wouldn't show. We consider it dangerous to have red things out during a storm. It is because they draw lightning. Red is connected with lightning. And today the Chiricahua do not like anything red to be around when it rains, like a red blanket. It is covered up or taken off the bed. [822]

During a thunderstorm the Chiricahua refrain from eating, even though the food is prepared and waiting. Eating during a storm causes much lightning, it is thought. Even if nothing else happens, a person who eats during lightning will lose his teeth. [264]

A paint [pied or spotted] horse is dangerous during a thunderstorm. If you are riding one at such a time, you get off. [231]

It is dangerous to have a little fawn around in the rainy season. If they find one, they get scared and let it go, for lightning is likely to strike you if you keep it. [825]

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The Mountain People are ordinarily pitted against disease, but they may themselves cause sickness if their rules are ignored. "The Mountain Spirits may cause you to become disfigured. [732] That is why the masked dancers do not touch each other. Many [535] are afraid of this sickness." Insanity may be regarded as punish- [784] ment for omission of necessary ritual gestures during the masked- [828] dancer preparation: "If the masked-dancer headdress is put on without ceremony, it makes you crazy; you see the Mountain Spirits all the time."

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Menstrual blood.—Menstrual blood is dangerous for males, and girls are taught to dispose carefully of pads worn during the flow. The illness suffered by a man or a boy as a result of contact with menstrual blood is always described as rheumatism or malformation of the joints. The most serious form of the malady is contracted from union with a menstruating woman. "The [834] Chiricahua are afraid to have intercourse with a woman during her period. It makes them misshapen and deformed. They be- [732] come unable to straighten their arms or legs. I heard of one man who did this. This man was pointed out to me. He was deformed in this way."

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754 "These people hate their own children; they hate their close relatives."

[578] But in most instances of alleged sorcery, the motive of the witch is narrowed down to some quarrel or thwarted design:

One man suspects M. of being a witch. His wife used to be good friends with her. She used to be over at M.'s all the time. Then she died, just after those two women had a falling-out of some sort. That's the way they work. You have hot words with a person. Then you die from some little accident. The person is under suspicion after that.

The greed of the sorcerer and the danger of denying him his desires is a recurring theme:

If you suspect you are witched, you must think over everybody that you have refused anything to or to whom you have not freely given something he admired. Perhaps someone said to you, "What a nice Navaho rug!" But you didn't give it to him. He witched you. That's why Indians don't plan to live nicely and have good things around. They'd only be running into danger from witches.

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[584] Rejected marriage suits may stir the malice of witches. "A young woman might die. They would say that a man who had been refused by her before her marriage had done this to her because he couldn't have her himself."

There is no personal misfortune, no public disaster, that may not ultimately be construed as the work of a witch. Impotence is sometimes attributed to sorcery, and witches are accused of interfering with domestic tranquillity:

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When I married, I lived near my wife's parents. A year later my wife had a baby and it died. About two months later she began to act as if she wasn't the same person at all. She was mean, and there was trouble all the time. I came away and lived down here, but my mother-in-law liked me and knew that I was trying to do the right thing. My wife had been witched. They took her to a shaman, and he saw what the matter was and cured her. About a month after she was cured I went back to her. She was just like her old self again.

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[845] Of difficult childbirth, it was said: "When a woman is having a hard time in labor, if her husband finds out for sure that a witch is responsible, he will go out and kill him."

75 At the other end of the scale is widespread sickness:

535 There has been much sickness around here, a lot of pneumonia. So last week my father painted masked dancers to find out what it was from and how it was

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going to end. He had the masked dancers perform right up there by his camp in the afternoon. They had a big fire going in the middle of an open space. While my father was singing and the masked dancers were working, their leader got a message. He found out that it is something that has settled here. He found out it is because the people don't get together, because they talk and work against one another [witchcraft] that the disease has settled among us. My father told the people that, when they act right toward one another and are no longer like this, the disease will all go away.

Many techniques, some of them subtle and surreptitious, are known to the sorcerer:

The way a witch influences you may start with little things. He may merely cause you to prick your finger, and all your trouble starts from that, or he may give you a stomach ache which continually grows worse. A witch has the power of evil influence with all his body parts, even with his sexual organ or his anal flatulence. He uses these as "arrows" to shoot the one he is getting sick. The women who are witching you with venereal disease, if they see you from a distance, open their vaginas toward you and go clockwise in a circle saying what should happen to you.

Sometimes witching is done with hair or with a rib and hair done up in buckskin. That is their arrow. It is a human rib and human hair that they use. They shoot these objects into the body of the one they are making sick. They usually have four such objects. A witch often works with the remains of dead people. One falls under suspicion of being a witch if he hangs around a grave. Few shamans try to take objects out of a sick person's body which have been placed there through evil influence. It is dangerous and most shamans are afraid.

Sometimes the glance, the thought, or the speech of a witch will cause evil influence. And a witch can often work through having some body part of the man whom he wants to harm, such as hair or nail parings.

A witch may have made his ceremony and said his words beforehand. Then he comes over to you and brushes against you, pushes you, plays with you, or steps on you—making believe all the while it is an accident or in fun. Thus he uses evil influence on you. A witch may even make marks on the ground and work with them.

An object of witchcraft is described in a tale of a witch brought to bay:

At Fort Sill a person once came out of his house and lost his purse. Somebody found it, and inside was his object of witchcraft. The name of the loser was D., and the finder was K., both well-known people. K. thought he had found money and opened the purse. To his surpise he found this object. It was a bone, two inches long, scraped fine, pointed on one end, and with a notch at the other, like an arrow. At the notch there was green coloring. On the side was a peculiar design.

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755 773 796 By the ceremony of the Mountain Spirits the boys are restored to bodily perfection and are returned to their parents.

773 796 Another story tells of the flight of a man from a large force of traditional enemies. He runs, praying, toward a place known to be a home of the Mountain People. At his appeal, Mountain Spirits swarm from the cliff wall, surround the enemy, and drive them into a cave which then closes upon them. This myth emphasizes the protective role of the Mountain People who guard the tribal territory and defend the people from enemies and disease.

756 796 798 535 688 773 Another tale calls attention to the care which must be exercised during the masked-dancer ceremony and indicates the prominent place of the clown in the ritual. A shaman informs the people that he is going to paint masked dancers at a mountain far from the camps. He advises everyone, except the dancers and those who will assist him in preparing them, to stay on the flats below. Particularly does he warn parents to keep their children away from the place, and he reminds his hearers that they are not to call the names of the dancers when the performance begins. A little girl creeps up to the forbidden site, nevertheless, and mentions the name of an impersonator when the dancing starts. The shaman, immediately aware of what has occurred, tries to intercede for her with the Mountain People and finally conceals her under the fire. Soon Mountain Spirits come and displace their impersonators. On each of the first three nights a [796] Mountain Spirit of a different color vainly leads the search for [522] the miscreant. On the fourth night Long Nose or Gray One, the clown, heads the line and succeeds. For her impiety the girl is slain.

773 796 784 535 Another myth stresses the penalty for disrespect toward the Mountain Spirits and suggests the association between the masked-dancer rite and ceremonial defense against epidemics. Masked dancers are joined by two mysterious strangers who are superlative performers. The people seek to learn their identity. After the dance of the fourth night, riders stationed on swift horses pursue the two strangers. But the fastest mounts are outdistanced, a rock wall opens to receive the runners, and

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the mortals realize that they have pursued actual Mountain Spirits. "Not long after that disease broke out among them and killed many of them."

The Mountain Spirits are held in such fear and reverence that those who have no ceremony from them are hesitant even to discuss them. One man explained, "I'm not supposed to tell stories about the Mountain Spirits because it is dangerous for me," and another said: "In order to use another word besides Mountain Spirit in the stories, a term 'man from the mountains,' is used. This is put in the story a few times to show that the Mountain Spirits are held in awe and to prevent harm befalling the teller."

Masked-dancer ceremonies, though they may be later taught to others, always originate in a personal supernatural experience. The following account is a good example of the type.

My father is a shaman. He got his ceremony when he was a young man. It was this way. You know that Guadalupe Mountain over here. It is a religious mountain, a holy mountain. My father says that this place is the home of Mountain People. He says a spirit came to him and told him to go into that mountain. Someone talked to him, but he did not see anyone. It was outside the mountain that something, or someone, told him to enter. That was the first time anything had spoken to him; he was getting his first power.

When he thought he heard a voice telling him to go into the cliff, he turned around and started to enter the mountain. The cliff opened like a door. He says that the clown met him at the door. The clown said, "Follow me," and they came to the first outside door. Near by was a great rock turning around and around. They call it by a name that means "rock that swings around together." My father says he was frightened, but the clown told him, "Don't be afraid. You must go through four doors, all different. Don't be frightened because the rock is acting this way." Then he said, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the rock, and the rock stopped. He told my father to follow him. They went on.

They came to the second door. There were two great snakes there, twisting and squirming, and biting at each other. They were guarding the door. They were not really biting each other, just trying to. They were not allowing anyone to pass. The clown said, "Do not be afraid of them." The clown went ahead, and my father was close behind. The clown said again, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the snakes, and the snakes stopped twisting and biting.

So they passed the snakes and went on to the next door, the third door. Here there were two big mountain lions, one on either side of the door. They were trying to keep everyone from going through that door. They had their mouths open, and when they saw my father they were just wild. The clown said, "You must not be afraid; they are not going to hurt you." The clown went on ahead,

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and when he came to the mountain lions, he again pointed his finger, saying, "Sh! Sh!" and they quieted down. My father and the clown went through the door.

Then came the fourth door. There was nobody in there at the door. All these doors were rock. At the fourth door the guide again repeated, "Sh! Sh!" and the door opened. When my father got into the fourth room, it was just as if he were in high mountains.

After the last door had opened, my father looked about a hundred feet away. There was one old man sitting over there. The guide said, "That man is going to talk to you now, and you want to be very careful. He is the leader in this place. We are going to walk right up there, and he is going to ask you some questions in a rough voice, but don't be afraid. Now he sees you coming with me."

So they started to walk up to that old man. He was sitting in a big chair in an open place. He was an old, old man, with garments over his head and all around him. The clown told my father, "When I take you up there I am going to leave you, and he will talk to you. Don't be afraid. He is a kind man."

The clown and my father reached this old man. Then the clown said, "Ready!" and disappeared. This left my father standing there alone before that man, and that old man sat up looking angry. My father was standing right in front of him.

Then the old man said to my father, "What do you want in here? You have no business in here." Then my father was frightened. "You tell me what you want. You are not allowed in here; humans from outside are not allowed in here."

But my father said, "I want to live long in this world, and I want to be blessed. I want to live to be an old man."

"All right, you mean it, do you? You think you are going to be afraid?"

My father said, "I will try not to be afraid; that is not what I am looking for. I am looking for something good for myself and for my children, so that they will have some blessings. I have wanted to go into some holy place like this one I am in now. Will you help me?"

The old man said, "All right. I have talked roughly to you, but I will do what you say. I am a kind man. I have control of this whole mountain." Then my father says he saw some hills all around there.

The conversation went along like this with my father and the old man. "What kind of power do you want?" the old man asked him. "I have some very strict rules, so strict that if you fail, you are going to die. They will harm you, and if you fail them you are going to lose your life or some of your family. I tell you that beforehand. What kind of a shaman do you want to be?"

My father answered, "I can't tell unless I see what you will give me." He wanted to be shown.

The old man said, "You just wait a minute."

Then he got up. He could hardly get up; he was a very old, old man. He walked behind a little hill in there. He came back and took his seat. Then my

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father said he could hear things ringing, drums, and singing just like the masked dancers dancing—Apache drums and singing. He heard it in the east as if many dancers were coming. And then they came in from the east, the clown leading them. Many Indians dressed in buckskin and Mountain People came, dancing. Then they stopped right where he was. All kinds of birds, animals, and snakes came behind the Mountain People.

The old man told him, "These are the ceremonies I have here. Which do you want? Pick out the one you want and don't make a mistake."

When the old man finished speaking, my father said, it seemed that it was the privilege of those animals and Mountain People to say what they wanted to him. One little bird came up to my father and said to him, "I am the greatest power on earth; take me." Then the eagle came up and said, "I am the greatest power here; take me." Then the animals came up, also the snakes, and said the same thing.

My father says he thought of it from the beginning, of how the old man said not to make any mistake. So my father turned around and thought, "These little birds are too willing, and these others are too willing. There are some others sitting over there. I must not make a mistake."

He saw that the Mountain Spirits were the leading ones in there. So my father hesitated and thought, "Well, the clown and the Mountain Spirits haven't said anything to me."

They came around with a drum, with turquoise and a pollen cross on the drum. "The clown and Mountain Spirits say nothing, but they are good," my father thought. So my father turned to the old man and said, "I will take the Mountain Spirits."

That is the way it is today. Just as soon as he chose the Mountain Spirits, all the rest were ordered to go back. Just the Mountain Spirits were left. After all the birds, snakes, and animals were gone, there came many Indians, all dressed just like Chiricahua Apache. They started singing. My father has told me, "I was going through the performance. I got all the songs and designs. For four days I made masked dancers with a different design every day on each one." My father was learning the ceremony.

The old man said to him then, "You have done well. You did not make a mistake. I was watching you. The birds, animals, and snakes asked you to choose them, but you did right to choose the Mountain Spirits. They are the most powerful, the best thing here. Now you are going to stay here and have a good time for four days."

My father says that after this the Indians gathered, and they began to dance just as they do at the girl's puberty ceremony. White Painted Woman ran just as the girls do now. So my father in four days learned the whole thing. My father called the mountain "Holy Mountain." He says that he gets messages from these people whenever he holds his ceremony. When he wants to know how to cure a man, they come and tell him. He says they talk. He stayed another four days and four nights there.

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After four days the old man asked him, "Do you have what you want?" My father said, "Yes."

He said, "You didn't make any mistake."

My father answered, "I hope not."

The old man explained, "This is a good thing for you. The Mountain People will take care of you all your life. You can hand the ceremony down to anyone you want to. You can do anything you like. If the ceremony is given to your child, you will not have to ask for any ceremonial gifts; but if it is passed on to other people, then you can ask for gifts. But if you love someone else, you can hand it down to that one without gifts."

The Mountain People gave him directions. "You cannot sing these songs for nothing." So today my father is hard to convince on that.

After the four days, when this old man had told him he had what he wanted, the Mountain Spirits had all gone. Then the clown came. The old man ordered the clown back. The old man told my father, "That is all. I am through with you. Everything is all right. I hope you have a long life in this world. You may go home and use the ceremony according to what the Mountain People want you to do."

The clown had to take my father back through the mountain. They had to come back through those doors. They came again to the big mountain lions. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" and told my father to come right behind him. They returned to the snakes. The snakes tried to stop them. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" and then told my father to come right behind him. Then they reached the last door, that great rock swinging around and around. The clown stopped there and said to the rock, "Sh! Sh!" and to my father, "You come right behind me." And they went through. Then they came to the cliff. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" again, and the whole thing opened like a door. The clown started to walk down the steep bluff. He said, "You must come behind me." My father says when he first went up there the spirit lifted him up suddenly, but now he had to follow the clown down or stay where he was. He did not think he could walk down the cliff but he followed the clown, and they walked down easily.

The clown said, "Here are four things I am going to give you." He gave him a little eagle feather, a very fine feather, and said, "This is one." He held something in his hand and said, "This is a small round turquoise with a hole in it. That makes two." He put the feather through the turquoise. He said, "If you are going to sing for a sick boy, the parents of the boy or his other relatives must give you a turquoise with an eagle feather like this. If he really wants to get well and believes in you, he must also give you a live thing, a horse or a cow, or anything you want, but it must be alive. The turquoise and eagle feather are used only in curing men and boys. The other gifts, which girls and women must give you, are the changing abalone and pollen. They must be tied in this way: the pollen must be in a little buckskin bag, and the string must be put through the hole in the abalone and tied in this way."

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The curing rite in which masked dancers appear conforms to an easily recognized pattern. Its salient features are well described by one who has acted as an impersonator on many occasions.

If a sick man wants a ceremony of the masked dancers put on for him, he has to feed the helpers, the ones who dance. And the shaman has to be paid a whole lot. I've danced for my father's ceremony. His ceremony doesn't have to be at night. If it's nice weather, it might be during the day. He can paint any number of masked dancers—two or four, but not one; there must be more than one. It's hard work to dance like this. I'd rather not do it. They go there and dance around that sick person for four or five hours. I'd rather get out on the feast grounds and dance [at the girl's puberty rite]. I get more pleasure out of it. This other is tiresome work.

This is the way I have seen my father do his ceremony. Let us say I am a pretty sick man. I ride up on my horse. I come in with my turquoise and an eagle feather through it. I have pollen in my hand in a buckskin bag. I take some of the pollen in my right hand. I hold it up to the east, then I turn to the south, then to the west, then to the north, sunwise. I say, "My father (whether the shaman is my father or not), I hope with what you know I can get relief." I say to him, "This is your power," and I place a cross of pollen on his right foot. The shaman is sitting with his fingers touching his knees. Then I take my pollen and bring it up to the knee, then to the fingertips, down the left leg again, to the left foot, where I again make the cross with pollen. I still have the turquoise and eagle feather in my right hand. I either tie it to the buckskin string on his right moccasin or else just put it on there and he will pick it up.

Then I will be standing before him and say, "There is my horse standing just as I got off him, with my bridle, saddle, and blanket. I am a poor man. I want to live. I have given you all I have." Then I sit down.

Maybe he will not say anything for a while. I look as sick as I can so he will take pity on me. I am waiting for his answer. Finally he says, "All right," if he wants to take the case. He knows I am sick and have to be attended to right away. He says, "Bring your blankets and stay here."

He has to have a brush hut, and he must use two kinds of trees, juniper and spruce, to make a corral. It is up to him to fix the corral, or he can ask my parents or relatives to help him. I will be outside in the brush hut.

Now the shaman goes out and gets four young men to act as masked dancers. He comes back with them. My relatives are all working on the corral. They leave an open space facing the east, another doorway facing the south, another facing the west, and one facing the north. They make a fireplace in the middle of the corral.

I am taken into the corral. While my relatives are finishing the corral, the shaman is painting the masked dancers in the brush hut. I come in and await

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instructions. The shaman is with the masked dancers. He sees that everything is all right.

The shaman and the masked dancers come into the corral from the east when they are ready to begin. The shaman will be singing songs and may be dancing a little. The masked dancers are following him. He goes to the fire, walks around it clockwise, then goes on and comes back to the east. He tells the masked dancers to go around the fire four times and worship the fire four times. The masked dancers trot once around the fire. Then they back up and advance toward the fire again. They do that four times, and at the fourth time they make their call. They repeat the same thing, going around the fire once, but stopping this time at the south. They worship the fire in the same way from the south, west, and north.

The old man says to me, "Put your blanket right there." Then he goes to his masked dancers. He says, "There is a sick man over there. He wants to go through this ceremony." He tells me he is going to bring the masked dancers in to me. He says, "Are you able to sit up?" I answer that I am.

He says, "Have you pollen?" I reply, "Yes, I have it." I have some pollen in an open buckskin bag in my left hand. I have another turquoise with an eagle feather through it.

The shaman stands with a drum. I am facing the masked dancers. The shaman tells me, "All right, go ahead and put the pollen on the masked dancers."

I do this the same way I did it to the shaman. The leading masked dancer is dancing. I make signs to the directions, and the leader has to lean down so I can put the pollen on him. I put the turquoise on the leading dancer too. Then he stands aside and I do the same thing with the pollen to the next masked dancer. He then stands aside and I put the pollen on the remaining dancers.

Now the shaman asks, "Are you able to stand up?" And I answer, "Yes."

He says, "Maybe it will be good for you to stand and let the masked dancers work on you." So I stand up.

Then the shaman asks, "Where is your pain! What is ailing you?" And I tell him it looks as though I am very sick in my legs.

"On which side?"

"This side."

Or I may have a headache all the time that nothing can cure. If this is what I say, he tells the masked dancers who are standing there, "This man has not been relieved of his headache. Now I want you men to work on him. He is going to stand here."

He tells the masked dancers to come to the front of me. He is singing. He wants me to stand and let the masked dancers work on me. Many Chiricahua are watching me. The masked dancers begin to dance back and forth four times. The fourth time the leading dancer will shake his sticks with a weaving motion and cross them on my forehead. And pretty soon he takes hold of my hair on both sides and pulls as hard as he can, gives a cry, and lifts me up. He blows

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away the sickness to the east, south, west, and north. Then the masked dancers go around me once and stop on the south side. Then they come back to me and go through the same thing from the other directions. Then they go out of the corral.

The shaman asks me if I am tired and want to sit down. I say I would like to sit down, so they bring my blanket into the corral. I am sitting in the center alone.

When the masked dancers hear the drumming and singing start again, the leader begins to wave his sticks and dances around the corral four times, the fourth time stopping at the east. This blesses everybody in the corral.

The shaman tells the masked dancers to come in. The dancers face me. While the singing and drumming are going on, they dance around me four times. Then the shaman stops them.

He says, "All right, go around the fire once." While the singing is going on, they start to dance. Every once in a while the dancers blow to the directions to blow the disease away. They go around the fire once after they get through with me. All the time the singing is going on. Then the masked dancers go through the east door. Then they come back, dance around the fire, and go through the south door, dancing and blowing things away. They repeat the same thing through the west and north doors. They do all that has been described for four days or nights.

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On the second or third night, if the shaman wants to see whether I am going to get well, he takes the abalone and comes up to me where everybody can see me. He sings and prays and holds up the abalone. Four times he puts the abalone against my forehead, and, if it sticks there by itself the fourth time, I am going to get well. If it falls off, I am not going to recover. He also uses a feather. He tells me to open my shirt, takes the feather, and points the quill end at my chest, over my heart, four times, so that everybody can see it. If it sticks on the fourth time, there is hope of my living. He uses either the abalone or eagle feather or both. I have to open my shirt, and the feather is put right on my heart. If they both drop off, he says, "I can't help you." But he can't stop before the fourth night, even though the eagle feather and abalone fall.

If these things fall or if I am getting worse, he talks and shakes his outstretched hands to his power. He talks to the Mountain People, who promised to help him. He says, "I have been paid for doing this and now you have got to help me." Sometimes tears run down his face and he cries, "I am going to make this man well! Even if the power does not help him, I am going to cure him!" He is angry and fights it out with the power that has made him a shaman.

The shaman does not tell everything that is going on. His spirit or vision may tell him that it can't do anything for me, but he fights it out with the spirit or vision.

I may get well before the fourth night, but if I am really sick, I may not get well for some time. The shaman tells me whether I am going to get well or not,

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755 and he tells me that I must follow certain rules. For instance, for a headache I
756 must not put a knife in a cooking pot.[99] If I violate the rule, the disease will come back on me again. Or he may tell me to have the door of my house to the east. If I don't do this, if I violate this rule, the Mountain People will know whether I have done this or not, and the disease will come back to me.

It is up to the sick man to make gifts, anything he wants to give. After the fourth time the sick man is taken back to his own camp. In cases where the feather drops or the abalone drops, after the shaman leaves the man, he will keep on praying until the man gets well anyway.

[535] A Mountain Spirit shaman can also perform his rite without any dancers. If there is a sudden emergency, if the full ceremony would be too costly for his patient, or if he cannot find enough dancers, he uses only the headdresses which the dancers customarily wear, placing them against the body of his patient and gesticulating with them to the directions to send the sickness away.

731 Many ceremonies cure the sickness of individuals, but the pre-
751 vention of epidemics is a signal function of the masked-dancer
535 rite. "When I hear of disease coming, I paint them and tell them
789 to chase the disease away with the sticks," said a Mountain
796 Spirit shaman. "When sickness is around, the masked dancers and the clown are made on a hill and then come to the people below, making fires on the way down. In this way they keep sickness away."

[522] It is at such times that the clown, who merely acts as messen-
[881] ger and funmaker at the girl's puberty rite, may come into his own:

The old man always told us that the clown was the most powerful of the masked dancers. He said, "People think that the clown is just nothing, that he is just for fun. That is not so. When I make other masked dancers, and they do not set things right or can't find out something, I make that clown and he never fails." Many people who know about these things say that the clown is the most powerful.

At times of danger or epidemic another masked dancer, Black One, is sometimes made:

There are different grades of masked dancers. There is the clown, and he is dangerous. Then there is Black One, and he is supposed to be very dangerous. Black One wears nothing but feathers on top of his mask. He is painted black.

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[99] There is a general prohibition against stirring food with a knife.

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He does not make a noise like the other masked dancers and does not mix with the others. Any others that touch him will be harmed. Just one is made. He wears juniper boughs on his arms. Sometimes he carries sticks.

The one who is dressed to stand for Black One does not have the wooden frame above the buckskin face mask. He just has feathers in a bunch at the top of the mask. He wears a buckskin mask, all black. He is colored black all over. He carries spruce in his hands, and spruce is tied to each arm too. He wears a skirt of woven yucca which comes down long. He doesn't dance. Black One is just made for something bad, to keep everything bad away.

All three types of masked dancer may appear in the same ceremony to stave off epidemics:

It was during the World War when the "flu" was first coming this way. D. called all the people together. He was going to keep it away. He made the regular masked dancers and also Gray One [clown] and Black One. He wanted to pick out the best man for Black One. He tried to pick me out, but I said, "I don't know the ways of Black One, and I might make a mistake, and things might not turn out right." So I was one of the regular masked dancers instead. S. and I were the regular masked dancers, and R.'s boy was Black One.

The people were very quiet when this was going on. They said that we were two of the best dancers ever seen. We had a good clown there. He said, "You fellows certainly put on a good dance." Black One said he saw nothing but fruit and flowers around the fire, so D. said, "All is well."

D. told the people then, "Don't say anything bad about this sickness. Don't mention it, or it will come back."

For a while no one died. Then someone mentioned it, and the sickness began to come again. D. took us up on a high hill. The wind was blowing dust from the east. D. pointed to it and said, "That wind is bringing sickness back. I'm certainly sorry, but I can't help it. I told you about it. I warned you of it. Now it's too late." And it was true. The sickness came back, and many died. F. made his masked dancers, but it did no good.

This sickness died down. Then it came a second time. The second time it came, D. did not make his masked dancers. He didn't make Black One or any of them. He said, "All of you were safe. There was no sickness. I helped you. I told you what to do. But now it's coming back. I can't stop it."

When the sickness was on its way the first time and D. made his masked dancers, I went over to his camp. Many were camping around his place. He had his masked dancers there, and the people stayed around the masked dancers and marked them with pollen. All these people camping around him kept well.

In this ceremony it was Black One through whom the Mountain People transmitted their message. But this is not always the case. Most often it is the leader or one of the members of the

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regular masked-dancer group who receives the word of the supernaturals.

Some men when they dance say they see visions from the singing and praying of the shaman. I never did. I never saw a thing. Y. did though. It was in 1903 down at Fort Sill. There was smallpox. Lots of Indians were dying. We danced for four nights, from four in the afternoon until one or two at night. That was the hardest work I ever did. And you know, we never got that smallpox! It was all around. The Comanches had it. They were dying in Lawton, but we never got a case.

When the old man painted us he said, "Now one of you men is going to see a vision. I don't know which one it will be, but it will be one of you." I doubted it. I was a fool in those days. I didn't care. I just danced for a good time. Y. was the leader.

I watched Y. when he got the vision. This was the first night. The old man said someone would get it that night. We started out to dance at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The old man said it would have to be started while the sun was still up. There was a big crowd; Comanches, everyone was there. They put pollen on us dancers. We started dancing. We had to do what the old man told us. We had to go four times this way and that, and around the people. I was watching Y. He began going fast, shaking, running out to the woods and back.

About three hours later we rested for a while. We were smoking. Y. said, "Fellows, the old man said someone was going to see a vision, and I saw it. But that's all I'm going to tell you. I'm going to tell it to the old man, and if he wants to tell it to you, all right." Later I heard him tell the old man something, and the old man said, "That's good!"

Masked-dancer ceremonies conducted for the public good are usually undertaken in response to requests from a number of people: "We asked R. to put on a ceremony for us, but he is too weak. So another man and I have been trying to get F. to make masked dancers for a long time. He did it the other day."

A number of protective masked-dancer rites have taken place in recent years. One, held to prevent the penetration of sleeping sickness, is described by a man who attended it.

Yesterday F. held his ceremony to keep away sleeping sickness. I didn't feel so good when I came back yesterday, so I went over. I thought that perhaps F.'s masked dancers would help me. The masked dancers performed once in the day and once in the night. He painted four regular masked dancers and two clowns.

The grounds were fixed this way: there were four spruce trees set up, one in each direction, and a fire was built in the center. To start the fire, they first put up the sticks like a tepee. The singers came in from the south and went around

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the fire clockwise four times. Then they took a place to the east of the spruce, facing the sunrise. Then F., the shaman, went around the fire once. Then he called to the masked dancers, "Now it's your turn." 731 751 535

They came in from the east and advanced to the fire and back four times. On the fourth time they gave their call. They did the same thing from every direction. Then they went around the fire four times, then around the outside of the trees four times. After that they came in from the east and stood in a single file facing the fire. Then F. told the people to paint the masked dancers. It took a long time. The dancers knelt so the children could reach them, putting their sticks on the ground. 789 796

This started about one o'clock in the afternoon. The night ceremony lasted until morning. Later F. gave a little talk. He said that he didn't think the sickness was going to spread this far but that it was best to make the ceremony to make sure anyway.

The masked dancers not only act to keep illness away but "they can find out what the trouble is when people are sick." If witchcraft is discovered, the impersonators may have to expose the sorcerers. "The dancers should not point with their sticks at the spectators unless the shaman tells them to look for an evildoer. Then they point him out. Usually the leader of the dance group is used for this." 535 755 754

Even the control of the weather is not beyond their function. On several occasions when the performance of the masked dancers at the girl's puberty rite was threatened by stormy weather, I have seen the shaman gesture to the directions with a headdress in order to drive the clouds away. 535 789 821

A myth tells of the freeing of animals from the subterranean land where they were kept by Crow. There is the present belief, perhaps a corollary to this, in "animal homes," places within caves or mountains where the game is hidden. An example will indicate the type of "animal home" story that is common. 825 [793]

About eight or nine years ago there was a big snow at Whitetail. E. was hunting deer over there. He was on horseback. A deer jumped in front of him, and he started after it. He saw it disappear in a cave. Then he came on and met us. He told us, "The old people tell us that the animals come from caves in the mountains, and I believe them now." He told us the story of the deer he had chased.

Two others went to that cave with him. They followed the trail and found a hole there. They dropped a stone, and it sounded as though that hole were very

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721 433 or "they are raiding here and there." The unifying element again appears to be the interest in the spoils. "There is no difference between the raid and war; they are going to bring back whatever they can either way."

But there is a difference of primary intent which does distinguish the raid from the war expedition. The members of the raiding party have as their sole objective the garnering of horses, cattle, or unguarded possessions of the enemy. They do not go in numbers; they do not seek a bloody encounter. Descriptions of typical raiding parties emphasize the business-like procedure and the pacific attitude:

As few as five or six would be in the party. About ten is the most that would go. Usually, but not always, one who had power connected with war was along. It was just according to how it happened. Each man took a robe or two along. Each took along a little food in a bag tied to his belt. Often no food was taken along, and the man killed something to eat on the way. Water was brought in a little bag made of entrails, which was carried in the hand. One of the party would bring along a fire drill which was carried in the quiver. The cattle were freely roaming. They drove them off. If they were discovered by the owners of the cattle, they would usually run away without fighting.

When they are on a stock raid, they don't want to be seen. They sneak around. They are careful; they avoid meeting troops or taking life. It is different from a revenge party.

A raid is organized by some leader. He decides. In the morning and in the evening he gets on a horse, or stands, and speaks to the people. He calls for all men who wish to go. The war dance is not put on just for a raid for booty. When they go out looking for a fight, they dance the war dance. The booty of the raid is divided as soon as it is obtained. If three men drive off just a little stock, they would keep it all perhaps, though they could give some to others if they wished. If there are many men on a raid and a great deal is driven off, it is evenly divided among the men. The leader of the expedition sometimes gets even less than the other people from the proceeds of the raid. He is supposed to be generous like that.

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But, very often, raiders who do not contemplate an actual conflict, find themselves involved in one before they reach home:

If we were raiding against Mexicans, a party would go down near the enemy's village and stay a short distance away while a few of the men went down and stole horses and cattle. Then, with these possessions, the party would start back. If the soldiers overtook us, there would be a battle.

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It is when a raiding party is intercepted, or when disastrous retaliation on the camps follows a raid, that a real war party is formed:

Sometimes when the Chiricahua are on the raid, the enemy kills some of their principal men. The people whose relatives have been killed notify the leaders, warriors, and everybody—the entire encampment. Even though they are in sorrow they notify these friends to have a war dance. Following it they are going to go after the enemy, no matter where they have gone. All the warriors agree to it. Then they have a war dance that night for a few hours. The warriors bring their equipment, knives, bows, guns, and all the weapons they are going to fight with.

The atmosphere on this occasion is very different from that which marks the preparations for a raid:

During the war dance they show what they are going to use when they meet their enemies. This dance means that they are going after all their enemies, everyone except their own tribe members, any other enemies there are. It doesn't have to be the ones that killed their men. They go after anything, a troop of cavalry, a town. They are angry. They fight anyone to get even. When they go out this way, they fight to win. When they are out, they might meet the same enemy who killed their people. Then they turn for home after they have killed all their enemies.

But whether the occasion is a raid for spoils or a punitive expedition demanded by bereaved relatives, attention is likely to be directed to the enemy possessions:

They bring in the captured equipment—guns, saddles, ammunition. When the warriors come within sight of their camp, they all begin to shoot. Then everyone is happy.

When the news comes to camp that a victorious war party is returning (a scout is sent ahead with the news), everyone is excited because there will be things to distribute, and they say, "Let us beat the drum and sing to greet our heroes." The dancers are in two groups; one bunch eats while the other goes on with the dance.

When the men went to Mexico and fought, they would bring back booty of all kinds—blankets and horses. Then they have a dance which can take place in the day or night as soon as they get back. They dance around the fire and the scalp, if any was taken. Then the women dance with the men in the social dancing.

Before this the men dance, and they call off the names of the brave men who were down in Mexico. The men shoot off guns when a name is called. Then the man called makes up his mind and goes and brings blankets and things and puts them there.

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727 [431] them there. He tells the women to help themselves. Sometimes he kills a cow or a horse for them. This is done mostly for women who have no men to take care of them. Sometimes the man will just throw out things to the people.

WAR FOR VENGEANCE

721 726 535 *The war dance.*—Despite the identical designs on the enemy's goods, the war party differs from the raiding expedition in preliminaries, personnel, and tenor:

> Only when they go out for revenge and fighting do they have the dancing beforehand. A relative who wishes a revenge party goes to the leaders and head men and asks them to use their influence to get one up. A large group would go, usually on foot. . . . .
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> All big war parties are undertaken to avenge deaths. The relatives of the father of the dead person or of his wife will get it started and try to enlist as many as possible. If they are important people, it will be a big party. . . . . As many as volunteered would go. Relatives of the dead man would agitate for the party, and if there was a leader among them, he would be in charge of it.

726 535 The war dance is a dramatization of warfare itself and a pledge on the part of the individual warrior to participate in the action and to acquit himself bravely:

> All the leading men notified the others that they were going to have a war dance that night and that they were going after the enemy the next day. "Fierce dancing" is what they called this.
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> All the Indians gathered that night. They didn't tell men that they must go. They don't say, "You must go, and you and you." These Chiricahua feel as men on their own. If things like war are going to happen, they themselves have to show they are manly. It is left up to the individual to decide.
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> [534] They brought a hide. They had a drum there, a pot covered with buckskin. They went through the thing that has been handed down in tradition from the original time. They know how to go through the performance; it doesn't have to be told. Those who were going to dance put their moccasins on and made themselves just like fighting men in war. [302] They had long hair, so they tied it in place with a headband. Some who had long hair that came down the back tied it back there in the middle so it wouldn't get in the way. [291] The Chiricahua man wears a long and wide loincloth which comes down in front to a place just above the knee and further down in back, near to the ankle. For this dance they brought the back flap through the legs and the front one around too and tucked them into the belt. They don't have to do it if the ends are not in the way, but they want to make themselves as "free" as possible.
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> What I saw was this. The upper parts of their legs were naked. The shirts of those who wore them flopped around. Some wore cartridge belts as bandoleers. Some carried guns.

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The dance always starts with four men. Four men came from the east to the fire, just as the masked dancers do. They marched abreast in line, not one behind the other. They went around the fire four times like this. Then two got on the south side and two on the north. The singers and the hide that was being beaten were on the west. The four faced each other in two pairs. They danced in place. They danced toward each other, changed sides, turned around, and went back. They did this four times. Then the fun began. Then they sang and everyone shouted. The women from all over made that noise as they do in the big tepee. Now it was anyone's chance to dance who wished to. They didn't crowd forward at first though.

The other men were dressed just like those first four fellows. They don't paint their faces or decorate themselves especially for the war dance; they come in just plain. Now whoever wanted to dance got out there. They had guns. They put cartridges in. They shot. They said by their actions, "This is the way I'm going to act in the fight." They put cartridges between their fingers. Some put as many as they could in their mouths.

Some men did not dance. They signified their intention of going to war by coming out during the singing and marching around the fire once. It means, "I am going out."

The men doing the dance did not shout. They just made a noise softly under their breath, like, "Wah! Wah!" You can't shout in the war dance or in war. The belief that has been handed down is that, if you shout in battle, many of you will be killed. Those along the sides shout though.

The dance went on. At every song a new set of men came in and the others went out and stood at the side. There were prayers going on over there. Everyone along the side was praying during the dance. When a principal man's name was called, he got out with his men. They get out in squads, sort of.

When just a few were left who hadn't come out, a few fellows who had talked bravely when drinking tiswin, they were called on in the songs by name. All the rest had been dancing and had shown that they were going out. Then they called these last ones by name. They said in the song, "You, So-and-so, many times you have talked bravely. Now brave people at Casas Grandes (or Chihuahua) are calling to you."

If a person who is called like that doesn't come out and make good his boasts, he's considered no man at all. But few men would hold back when they were called like that. They come out the first thing when they hear their names.

When all who were going to the war had danced, every one of them got in there and they all went around the fire four times together, shooting as they went. Then it was all over.

This dance is also a profound religious experience for the man who takes part in it. "Some who had a spear, hat, and shield made for them through a ceremony danced with them," thus

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726 535 782 [778] making a plea for success and personal safety in the coming conflict. The dance proceeds with prayer and ritual:

We dance one night and start the next morning. Everyone going on the party had to dance for power. Men puffed smoke to the four directions and prayed: "May I kill an enemy. May I get food."

The war dance lasted for four nights. We danced and prayed for good luck—not to have fun. We wanted to see our enemy and have a victory. This was a very strong ceremony. We asked our supernatural power to let us have the Mexican general or president. We called him by name for four days so that we would capture or kill him. We were always after him and prayed to get him.

726 535 533 The principal singer of the war songs, a patriarch whose supernatural power is connected with raid and war, acts as another link between this dance and the ceremonial complex. A knot of male singers (women do not sing for the war dance) intone the refrain, beating on a piece of rawhide or on pottery drums, and this shaman chants the half-sung, half-spoken prayers. In these prayers, when the other voices are stilled, he calls upon the individual to demonstrate his manliness. One war-dance song contains these words (any name can be substituted for the one that is used here):

Geronimo, they say to you,
You! You!
They call you again and again.

Inspired by the ceremonialism of the occasion, the chosen man responds:

The shaman is on the side of the circle of seated warriors. He calls in his song on such-and-such a warrior to dance. . . . . He calls on one man after another until all are dancing. . . . . When the shaman calls, there is no backing out. I don't care if the odds are against him, a man goes out if he is called upon. He is frenzied, beside himself. It is the power, the prayers, and not just the man.

726 535 533 561 577 The use of the personal name acts as an exciting challenge to the warrior:

In the war dance the singer actually calls a man's name. He pretty near has got to go then. He's got to make some kind of a showing. "So-and-so, get up and go to the enemy!" He's got to act when he hears this. He can't very well stay back and keep his self-respect. When we appeal to a man to help, we use his name.

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. . . . Not all come out at once. They name a man. This is in the song. They say, "You are a man! Now you are being called. What are you going to do when we fight with our enemy?" Then the man gets out and dances. Or, if he doesn't want to dance, he walks around the fire once to show that he is game.

I saw a war dance in 1883 at Fort Apache, when Chiricahua scouts were going after Geronimo. They called all the people together in a big open space. . . . .

Then the singer called a certain man by name. He said: "C., you are a man. You are known to be a great warrior. You have fought your enemies in close battle. We are calling you to dance." As soon as he said this, C. had his gun ready. He sprang out there, shooting into the air. Then they kept singing and called another name and another until four or five were out there dancing.

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The women were at the war dance. But they didn't dance or mix with the men. They stayed about six or eight yards away in a circle around the fire. They made that noise they make in the big tepee at the girl's puberty ceremony. At this war dance the women are all called White Painted Woman. A woman can't be referred to by her own name here. And the men are all called Child of the Water [except when they are named in the song].

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Not all men are equally persuaded by this dramatic summons to arms, however:

One fellow refused to fight the Mexicans because he had nothing against them. Hearing the remark, another man started to spear him, but two or three others stopped him. The objector sat down and actually cried. The rest of the group was angry with him. They told him it would have been all right if the other man had speared him. They told him, "You shouldn't say such things! The Mexicans aren't that way and would like to kill you." They all hated him and wouldn't allow him to go to war because his feelings toward Mexicans wouldn't go well in war.

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The "fierce dancing" of the warriors is usually followed by social dances in which the women also participate. The first of these is the round dance, named, for this occasion, "they show resentment against the enemy." "It is done in connection with the war dance before they go out on a war party. It takes place after the war dance but the same night. The people are in a bunch with the women on the outside. They go around the fire in a circle. The circle dance is for everybody." After the round dance come the very partner dances which take place during the nights of the girl's puberty rite, and these occur in the same relative order as on that occasion.

There seems to be some variation according to the scope and seriousness of the enterprise in the number of nights these dances

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726 continue before the war party starts. One view is expressed in
•535 these statements:

They perform the war dance just at night before a fire. They dance all night for four nights. These have to be successive nights. The "fierce dance" comes first. Then there is social dancing until morning. The people sleep during the day.

The leader called all the men together and held a council. If they decided to go to war, they would have a big dance. Before going on the war-path the Chiricahua had a four-day war dance.

[801] Whether this is a concession to the sacred number rather than an exact description is difficult to determine. At any rate, a one-night dance has already been twice mentioned, and the possibility of shortening these preliminaries is suggested in other comments:

They generally put on a war dance for two nights and then go out. They wait a day and leave the morning of the fourth day. They do this to get rest and sleep so that they will not have to sleep on the way.

The war dance is carried on at night. It is done for four nights, sometimes two. Then they go. Usually the men rest up a day before starting out.

These excerpts suggest that the expedition need not start the morning after the conclusion of the war dance, and this is supported by a direct statement: "The men do not have to start out immediately after the dancing. They set a day. It may be the fifth or sixth day after the dancing starts."

726 411 *The preparation for war; war practices.*—Sometime between the announcement of the expedition and the departure of the group, those who plan to go put their fighting gear in order. The standard equipment is the self-bow, arrows, wristguard, war club, and a stone knife. A few bring spears and shields as well.
[777] After white contact, firearms appear.

The arrows prepared by the warrior are entirely of hard wood or have a cane shaft into which is affixed a hard-wood foreshaft. The tip is sharpened and fire hardened. Three feathers guide the arrow in its flight. Occasionally, arrow poison is employed. "We use it in time of war. To make it we use deer's blood and mix this with plants believed to be poisonous. This mixture is allowed to rot and then is put on arrow points." Variations of this

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727 They scalped enemies. They did it to the whites. They put the scalp on a stick and hold it up and dance. . . . . They put it on a tree after the dance and let it dry and rot away.

The Chiricahua do not take the scalps of all the fallen enemies; but they take just one scalp, that of the man they believe to be the leader. Then they all go home with the stock that they have captured. They take this one scalp home with them.

At home the hair of the scalp is tied onto a stick, and one man holds this stick upright with the scalp at the top of it. They have a dance around this scalp, [535] lasting four days. The reason for the dance is that it is revenge for their dead, and they are proud, thinking that they are even with the other side. The widow, mother, and sister of a dead warrior feel proud when they see the scalp. They feel that they are even with the other side, and they take part in the four-day dance. They dance the round dance.

There is no interest in accumulating scalps; instead there is a fear of them. "They just let the scalp stay there until it wastes [705] away; they don't do anything to it. Those who handle the scalp [789] usually burn the 'ghost medicine' so the ghost won't bother them in any way."

727 All specific accounts of the scalp dance, incidentally, are from 184 members of the Eastern band, neighbors of the Mescalero Apache and nearest to the Plains and its influences. Persons from other bands deny that they shared the custom. Said a member of the Central band: "I have never heard of a scalp dance among my people. I have been asking the old people. All say the Central Chiricahua do not do this." And from a man of the Southern band comes the statement: "We did not scalp or display a scalp at this time or any other. We are afraid of the blood and the ghost of the man. We didn't want to have anything to do with it."

727 Prisoners are taken in battle for a number of reasons:

When they capture a prisoner they always question him and get what information they can. If he won't give it, they usually kill him right there, or else they take him back to camp for the women to kill. Grown men are never kept alive to be married into the tribe or enslaved. A mature man is dangerous, and [597] they kill him. But a young boy of four, five, or six is adopted into the tribe. He becomes a real Chiricahua and later marries into the tribe. Children like this are captured when their father and mother are killed. The Chiricahua take the children to increase the tribe, and they are treated like other children. When the

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727 *The victory celebration.*—With their booty, the captives, and the scalp, if they have taken one, the warriors journey homeward as rapidly as possible. "When the men come into sight, all the women gather and give their call of applause." If horses or cattle have been obtained, these are distributed, and "everyone who took part in the war gets his share." Each warrior keeps the personally obtained enemy possessions which have fallen into his hands.

A victory is celebrated in dance, song, and feasting. "There is a big fire, and they dance all night and for four days and nights. Some hardly sleep for the four days, they are so proud. All the warriors are dressed as they were in the fight, and some of them wear a hat that they use in battle."

727 The dances now performed parallel those which took place before the start of the war party. The first of the set is the "fierce dance." "They have the same kind of war dance they had before the men went out. They have this first and then have social dancing." Again the men are called upon by name, this time to show how they acquitted themselves in the struggle:

In the songs that follow, the singers tell what the man dancing did. They say, "So-and-so, you did a great thing. Come out and show what you did." Then this man whose name is called comes out, and he shows in action what he did. He doesn't say anything. Those fellows who sing were in the fight. They saw what he did; they tell it in song. Some are too lazy to do anything more than go around the fire once when they are called like this. The war dance the night of the return is the same as before going out.

After the warriors have received recognition, general dancing takes place. "Not only the warriors but all the people who feel good dance. They dance the circle dance, the couple dance, and toward morning the men and women line up in opposite rows, and the two lines go back and forth together. All is just a good time."

The first of these dances in which all those present take part is the round or victory dance, this time called "they come in with the enemy." It is during this dance that the scalp is displayed by some of the groups. When this occurs, it forces no great shift in psychology or content:

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The round dance takes place after the war dance at the return of the party. It can come at day or night. The dance is to show that they hate the enemy. The men are in a knot in the center and go around the fire with drums, singing. The women are in a circle outside facing toward the men. They dance in a sunwise circle. The men go around too. They sing songs about raid and war, like:

Whatever you have brought back with you,
Give me some of it.

This is a sample of the songs sung; they have to do with what happens on the warpath. Another of these songs tells of one who got out on a war party and then got separated from the others. In the words it says:

I've been wandering around,
Wandering around;
When I got home,
Everyone had moved.

The partner dance, in which the woman is free to choose a male partner, follows the round dance, just as it does the nights of the girl's puberty rite. Again the women are paid by the men who have danced with them. One informant claims that the obligation to pay the dance partner is fundamental to the victory celebration, when the men are in possession of booty, and that the gift-giving following the dancing of the puberty rite is an outgrowth of this custom. "The only time men paid for social dancing in the old days was when they returned from the warpath," he asserts. "They did not pay for dancing with women during the puberty ceremony in the old days."

In the fourth dance of the night, as at the girl's puberty rite, a line of men and another of women face each other and alternately approach and separate.

A Southern Chiricahua informant mentioned one other dance which he claims sometimes took place at a victory celebration. This he calls "holy singing walk." As he describes it, a single line of individuals, with men and women alternating, extends spokelike from the fire and swings around it sunwise: "They dance this when they come back from a war party, after the 'fierce dance.' There are no partners to it. Religious songs go with it; this is more of a religious dance."

There is no evidence that conventional morality is totally dis-

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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727 354 There is no evidence that conventional morality is totally discarded at this time, but there are suggestions that more freedom than usual is allowed:

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> The dancing may go on for two, three, or four days. There is much feasting. Some people are eating, others are dancing. There are many marriages during this period. The Chiricahua, when they were captured and taken to Mexico, noticed that, when the Mexican people had a big victory, they always celebrated by dancing and marrying and having a good time. To get even with them, the Chiricahua turn their victories into a celebration and a dancing and marrying time. Many young men take advantage of the occasion.

727 Thoughts of death are not permitted to interfere with the
761 happy mood: "Dead warriors are not mentioned in the songs, and the deaths are in no way formally announced. When the war party returns, the members state the news of the casualties pri-
[783] vately." There is no general purifying rite for those who have
[775] come in contact with corpses during the fighting. The use by
[789] some of "ghost medicine" to stave off evil effects is "an individual matter; they don't do it in a bunch."

462 THE GATHERING AND UTILIZATION OF WILD FOOD PLANTS

222 The responsibility of exploiting the wild-plant resources of the region falls to the women:

[512] While the man is hunting, the woman gets up before sunrise, builds the fire if the man hasn't already done so, and cooks the morning meal, using meat if there is some, vegetables if not. Then she goes out to gather seeds or plants, leaving the small children with another woman. She gathers yucca fruit, piñon nuts, or whatever is in season and carries it all home to prepare.

Gathering, preparing, and storing fruits and vegetables provide a continual round of labor as the women follow the natural harvests:

[251] In spring they go out for mescal. They keep going for it for some time. They get plenty of it and store it up. By the time that is done they can go out after the first acorns and bring them in and store them in bags. Then the yucca fruit and the sumac berries and other things are ready.

821 The preoccupation with the growth of wild plants is reflected
865 in the attitude toward the seasons and in the names of the principal time periods. Besides the four seasons, six time periods, beginning with the first signs of spring, divide the year. Their

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522 who was telling a group about his ability as a leader was interrupted by a hearer who, deliberately pretending to have misunderstood, remarked, "Yes, we all know you can shake your head pretty hard!"

Another story that points to the quality of the humor is an account of nonchalance under trying circumstances. An old man on horseback was attempting to pass a knot of his friends with some show of dignity. Just then his horse bucked, threw him, and ran ahead. Instead of waiting for the mirth of the beholders, the man pulled out his tweezers the moment he hit the ground and with great unconcern began plucking his whiskers.

PARTIES, DANCES, AND STORY-TELLING

273 574 The preparation of tiswin is almost always followed by a party to which friends and neighbors of both sexes are invited, for the beer is made in relatively large quantities and sours if it is not used at once.

My first tiswin party came when I was about fourteen years old. It was during the summer. A woman who was noted for the good tiswin she made told me to tell my grandmother to come over that afternoon, for she had some tiswin. She invited me too. I went right over to my grandmother and told her. I went with her and attended that party. It was just a social occasion. I drank a lot and got to feeling good. I was not used to it, but I didn't get sick. It lasted about two hours.

[576] They sit around and tell stories at these parties, laughing and talking. A man with a bad temper could not get in. It is considered very impolite to come in to a party without an invitation, but some get around this. They hate to miss it and find some excuse for coming there. One cup is kept going. The woman who gives the party does the dishing-out. A boy of about fourteen can attend. Usually a girl has to be a little older. After this I attended tiswin parties whenever I could.

273 574 533 535 Social dancing and singing sometimes add to the pleasures of a tiswin party. Even the women, when a certain point of gaiety is reached, may elect to act as singers, though this is not their customary role:

One time Mrs. S. and C.'s wife sang social dance songs. The men were all played out. One got the drum and the other helped her. In the old days the Chiricahua woman sometimes sang songs and used the drum too. They used to do it for the round dance. They would get around in a bunch and sing and drum.

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Social dancing is recreation which all can enjoy equally:

We do not speak of a good dancer when referring to the social dancing. One person is not considered better than another at it. There is no chance to show off. The only dances in which the individual can show ability are the war dance and the masked dancing. Women cannot dance these. But people get real pleasure out of dancing the social dances with someone they like. [555]

To sing well for the social dance is a real distinction, however: [533]

It seems to me that there are three different registers of singing found among these Indians. My voice is low; N.'s is high. If I put my hand to the side of my mouth, I can sing all night. But I can't last on the high ones.

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The telling of myths provides another opportunity for those who live in close proximity to gather. The expert raconteur is highly regarded.

I was in the store the other day, and J. was in there talking to a group of men. He was talking about the old times. He told about a man who used to be very good at telling all kinds of stories. A group of men thought they would play a joke on him. They all went over there and told him that he had to tell all the stories he knew and that they were going to sit there and listen until he was through. They were going to give him his fill of telling stories for once.

This fellow was quite a joker. He said, "All right!" and he started in. They came there early in the evening. That man told stories all night and then kept on during the day until about four o'clock in the afternoon. Everybody else was all tired out, and he was still telling stories.

Another able story-teller, whose case is of special interest because his excellence as an entertainer evidently was his chief claim upon the respect and good opinion of his fellows, is likewise fondly remembered:

My father knew I. He couldn't fight; he was no account in war. But he was a great joker and story-teller. All used to gather at his camp to hear him. The old men laugh and talk about him yet. My father imitates him, using the left hand, for I. was left-handed. It sure is funny to watch. I. thought quickly. Even the old people surely liked him.

As a general rule the Chiricahua dodge around when they fight. Though I. never fought, he'd talk like this: "When you're in a fight, don't dodge—you might run into an arrow. Why do you fellows dodge around like that?"

He'd say things like this: "Do you see those hills? Those hills were small when I came through there a little while ago. They must have grown since. Do you see that mesquite tree? I was chasing deer. Notice that limb. The horse was going full speed for it. It looked as though I was going to get brushed off by it. Then I jumped one way and the horse went the other. I landed on the back

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524 the bone is hidden in one of these, they are all filled at the top with grass." Often cylindrical sacks made of hide (later of cloth) serve as moccasins.

[237] The rounded section of bone from the hip or knee of an animal is hidden. It is often blackened by being thrown into the fire before the start of the game. The other things required are a robe or blanket to be held up by those hiding the bone, a stick with which the person delegated to find the bone strikes the moccasin in which he thinks it has been placed, and counters which each side [532] is trying to obtain. The stick is about two feet long and often is incised with carvings representative of birds which took part in the legendary game, such as the road runner and the turkey. [824] The counters are strips of yucca leaf, six to eight inches long. Usually there are sixty-eight of them, worth a point total of one hundred and four. Sixty-four of the counters are plain and count one each; four of them are fringed at the end and are each valued at ten.

To determine which side shall hide the bone first, a bone or a stone which has been moistened on one side is thrown between two of the opposing players, and one calls "Wet" or "Dry." The side which wins this trial now orders the blanket raised, and one of its members hides the bone, while the others sing.

[533] [793] When they play the game, they sing the songs which the birds and animals who played it first sang about themselves. And the moccasins and the bone, too —each has a song about itself. These are the first ones sung. These songs are sung during the playing. The side hiding the bone sings while the hiding is going on and while the one who guesses for the other side is trying to make up his mind about which moccasin to strike. They sing loudly and try to confuse him in every way, but no drum is used. If a side is lucky with a song and the others are guessing wrong, they keep on singing that same one until the bone is taken away from them.

[535] During the singing, members of the group dance in place.

When the bone is concealed, the hider calls, "Ready," and the robe is removed. A representative of the opposition comes forward to strike with his stick. If he hits the correct moccasin, he wins the bone for his side without any gain in counters for the other side. If, however, he strikes a moccasin to either side of the one in which the bone actually lies, four counters are taken from

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DEATH, MOURNING, AND THE UNDERWORLD

761 [195] THE topic of death is sedulously avoided. The regular term for death is seldom used; the approved euphemism "he is gone" is employed instead.[1] When an informant was asked whether his people had any death songs, his emphatic reply was:

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There are no death songs for the Chiricahua. Our war songs urge the men to go forward all the time. Death wouldn't be mentioned. If a Chiricahua man heard a word about death in there during a war dance, he would stop dancing. He would go to a man with a ceremony for war and have him sing his songs and find out what it meant. Some men would back right out as soon as they heard anything like that. They'd be afraid that the fight would turn against them if that bad word was said in there.

[535] [926]

764 But, when death does strike, a formal pattern of thought and procedure exists to make possible the requisite material and psychological adjustments.

The data already presented concerning the owl, the ghost, and ghost sickness[2] have paved the way for a summary of the characteristics of the burial practices:

When a person dies, his close relatives pull their good clothes off. They tie any old thing around themselves to keep themselves covered and warm. It is sometimes a month before they dress in good clothes again. Members of the family cut their hair; the women wail; the men cry.

[765]

A few minutes after death (whether a man or a woman has died) a close male relative may go out of doors and shoot off a good many cartridges in the air. He doesn't shoot in any special direction. Any male relative can do it. I don't know exactly why it is done; no one seems to be sure. But I think that this has to do with the importance of the person who has died. It tells the rest of the people that someone of standing has died. N. was a leader. When his mother died, he

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[1] In spite of the great terror surrounding death, suicides occasionally occur when life becomes unbearable. Individuals have committed suicide when captured by the enemy, when stunned with grief at the loss of a child or some other close relative, or as a result of marital strife.

[2] See pp. 14–15, 229–37, 301–5.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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with his nails. He obeyed a number of food and behavior restrictions during these journeys. He spoke in a special "war-path language" that had been taught him, in which all sacred subjects and objects that have to do with the raid and war-path were referred to by other than the ordinary terms. Thus a horse was called "one with nose to the ground," pollen was called, "it renews life," and a mountain in enemy country was called, "one I have not seen before." During these first four expeditions the boy had to obey every order of the warriors. He went for the water, built the fires, cared for the horses, and stood watch over the camp. He was not expected to share any of the fighting or dangers of these first four journeys, but when he went for the fifth time, with his apprenticeship and boyhood behind him, he felt obligated to act with conspicuous bravery.

Apache war dances and victory dances were vigorous representations by the warriors of the battle to come or the conflict from which they had just emerged. A large fire was kindled in the evening at a level place. To the side of it singers squatted before large pieces of rawhide. The singers beat the hide with sticks and began the war songs. They would call the name of the warrior and ask him to show what he would do or had done. With a bound the warrior named would appear before the fire in full battle array, and by flourishing his weapons, dodging dexterously to avoid the enemies' arrows, and engaging in a pantomime of the encounter, he would depict his prowess in war. Then others would be called until all those who were connected with the expedition had a chance to participate.

Women watched the dancing from a little distance and occasionally uttered a high-pitched, keening-like cry which indicated applause, but no woman took part in the dance. During this dance all women had to be addressed as White-Painted Woman, the most prominent character of her sex in Apache mythology and the mother of the culture hero.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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buried moccasins by one side, and the guessing of the position of the bone by their opponents. This is the game which it is alleged was played in the beginning of the world by the animals and the birds to determine whether there would be darkness all the time, or whether there would be day as well. In another Apache game the contestants throw rocks toward a hole. The one who gets his rock nearest scores most, and the player who obtains a required count first is the winner. Tug of war, wrestling matches, foot and horse races, and even the making of cat's cradle were numbered among the Apache's amusements and contests.

Social dancing was an integral part of the festivities at any large gathering. Beside the round dance there were two favorite types of partner dance, one in which the men and women, facing each other, first approached each other and then retreated. In the other partner dance, the man and woman faced each other and went forward and backward together. All of these dance forms were accompanied by separate sets of songs, the words of which were quite often caustically humorous and fixed with sharp verbal barbs for the young lovers who were dancing.

DEATH

Like all other Southern Athabaskans, the Chiricahua and Mescalero showed the most acute dread of anything connected with death. The corpse was buried as quickly as possible and the place of burial never revisited. The possessions of the deceased were destroyed, and the family at once abandoned the camp at which death had occurred. The name of the dead person could not be mentioned thereafter. Those who prepared the body for burial burned or discarded the clothes worn on the occasion. Close relatives of the deceased cut their hair as a mark of mourning. The ghosts of Apache who were sorcerers in life turned to owls, and the Chiricahua and Mescalero disliked nothing so much as to hear an owl hoot close by.[5]

5. For details of this concept and its implications, see Opler (26).

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
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The seventh night when Dick got back to his camp he got after his power. The power said, "Don't get after me for a little thing. I know what's the matter with him. I know what to do for him. He's all right. He's not going away. His power put him in trouble. He can keep that or throw it away, but he can also have me if he wants to, and he and you can practice this ceremony and do good among your people."

Then on that seventh night Dick studied it and sent his power that night. Then they saw Tuisga sitting up. He was much better. They called for Dick. He knew what it was. When he came into the house he marked the house with pollen, marked the people present, and marked Tuisga.[11] At daybreak Tuisga was lifted up by the power.

While this was being done Dick was praying. He prayed and prayed and said, "All present, don't become frightened. You'll see something with your eyes." Then from high up you could hear something falling. It came from the sunrise and hit the roof. The house trembled.[12] They heard an object hit on the south side. The house moved. Then from the west side an object fell. The house seemed to quiver. Then from the north side, and they thought the roof was coming off this time. All were quietly praying.

Then Dick did something else. He asked that flour gravy be brought and given to this man. Tuisga was very hungry and weak. He hadn't eaten for sixteen days.

"Now," said Dick, "I'm going to sing one song with four verses, and everybody is going to dance whether he likes it or not.[13] And you women can call when you hear White-Painted Woman and Child-of-the-Water mentioned at the first verse."[14]

[11] Pollen, usually obtained from the cattail tule and symbolizing health, growth, and vitality, was a most sacred substance for the Chiricahua and was omnipresent in ceremonies. Marking the patient, the people, and the place with pollen is an act of blessing and purification.

[12] The Chiricahua Apache ceremonial circuit is sunwise, beginning with the east, the most important ritual direction.

[13] The dance may function as a prayer in Chiricahua ceremonialism.

[14] The ceremonial call of the women is a high-pitched ululating cry.

787 right up to them and talk. You and I can't see it or hear it,
778 but they can. Like in one ceremony I saw: the shaman said in one place, "Everything is light. I see a big light." He saw it, but it was a pitch-dark night, and we couldn't see a thing.

771 The Chiricahua, like all people who have developed a religious
778 system, have had, in spite of the religious safeguards which they
756 affirm, to recognize the existence of failure, danger, death, and
754 evil. They account for them by a theory of the plasticity and
182 duality of power. Thus hateful individuals may employ complacent power for malevolent rather than kindly ends. Or the personified source of the power may itself be represented as malicious and may lead weak-willed shamans into dubious practices by deceit, threats, and promises. Therefore it is necessary to be constantly wary of cleverly veiled evil power (sorcery) and of ceremonialists (witches) who are not above using their rituals to
[796] harm, betray, or cause illness. Consequently, a substantial part of Chiricahua ceremonialism, perhaps its most dramatic aspect, is the contest with supernatural power between the shamans and the sorcerers. Sometimes a shaman who controls one type of supernatural power, who has been granted a ceremony from a natural force or a heavenly body, for instance, may be suspicious of rituals from contrasting sources, such as the animals of the earth. These views are exemplified in the excerpts which follow:

I came to know that power is not good or bad of itself. It is just power. It can be used for good or evil. It all depends on the
[796] person who has it. Look at the power from the Mountain
[532] People. (The Mountain People are mountain-dwelling supernaturals who guard the Chiricahua and their territory from
[535] harm. They are impersonated by masked dancers.) The
[881] Mountain People are good. They help the Chiricahua. We have them at the girl's puberty rite. But they can, to the Chiricahua mind, be used for evil too. A good many people think X. is a witch and uses Mountain Spirit power for evil. A good many people will not go through that Mountain Spirit ceremony of his. When it is going on, they get pretty far in the back; they are taking no chances. But there are others who think it is all right, who go through with it and consider X. a shaman.

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796 son or other close relative learn and carry on his ritual. Not in-
424 frequently, however, these kinsmen are uninterested in the rite, and a more ardent candidate is found among outsiders.

My father has been begging my brother to take it (the father's ceremony). My brother has been taking it (over) a little; he has been practicing with the old man and helping him. The old man begged E. (another son) and me to do it too. . . . The old man wants us to take over his ceremony. He said to
[435] us, "I want you boys to have it. All you'll have to give me is one steer. I paid a lot more for it when I got it myself."

796 I tried to give it (a masked dancer ceremony) to my grandsons,
424 but they didn't want it. They didn't care much for it. Then
787 E. was sick. He appealed to me for help. He asked if the Mountain Spirits could help him in any way. I told him,
• 535 "Act as one of my masked dancers and perhaps it will help
532 you." He danced and got well. Then later Mountain Spirits
[955] appeared to E. in a dream. They were dressed and designed like my masked dancers. He told me about it. I knew what it was for. I told him, "Well, you can use the outfits with me and carry the ceremony on." Then E. saw in a vision that the Mountain People wanted him to have the ceremony, so I turned it over to him. He took it very seriously. He now knows the songs and has the right to carry on the ceremony. It took him four days to learn it. He learned the songs thoroughly again in a dream after he was taught them by me. He has full rights now. Both he and I have the (masked dancer) outfits now; both of us use them. We do not make two sets of masked dancers but share in the making of one set. But he could do it all alone now. I do not even have to be present.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 210–11.)

787
778 When a ceremony is acquired through a personal supernatural
[796] experience, it is the power or power source that usually takes the initiative, though the individual approached has the right to reject the offer if he sees fit. This is apparent from the following discussion of the manner in which a young man is prepared for a vision experience.

Perhaps some day you will be out alone. Something will talk to